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**HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF MINORITY GROUPS—PART 1**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 13, 14, AND 18, 1949

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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
PUBLIC HEARINGS

MORNING SESSION

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m. in room 1301, New House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, Francis Case, and Harold H. Velde [entered hearing room after proceedings had begun].

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that the members present are Mr. Walter, Mr. Harrison, Mr. McSweeney, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Case, and Mr. Wood.

The Chair makes the announcement that one of the witnesses subpoenaed to appear here today, Jackie Robinson, is unable to come. He called me this morning and said important matters interfered and asked to be excused from coming here until Monday of next week, at which time he will be glad to come and testify.

I desire to read into the record at this time a letter which I received yesterday from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, as follows:

JULY 12, 1949.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOOD: I have your letter of June 30 asking that I present to your committee my comments on the loyalty record established in the European and African theater of operations during World War II by members of minority races. I am deeply grateful to you for allowing me to present these views by letter as an alternative to appearing before your committee because I am committed, in response to requests from the Secretary of Defense, to join a conference at White Sulphur Springs on July 13 and 14.

In the past I have testified, again and again, to the high qualities of loyalty, devotion to duty, and endurance that American soldiers displayed in World War II on some of the most bitterly contested battlefields of history. In that testimony I have never made any exception based upon racial derivation or connection—I have not done so because no such exception was applicable or justified.

I understand your committee is particularly interested in the record of American Negro soldiers. Throughout the almost 4 years that I was commanding in Europe and in Africa, I daily encountered soldiers of the Negro race. It no more

occurred to me to question their mass patriotism and loyalty than it would have occurred to me to entertain such doubts about the entire force. While I do not have the statistics with me, it is my recollection that more than 400,000 soldiers of the Negro race served under my command in Europe alone. Many more thousands were in the North African area. Had there been any general unrest, disloyalty, or unwillingness to serve, the grave results could not have escaped spectacular notice and sensational reporting by the press. I think, therefore, in addition to the testimony of individuals like myself, General Spaatz, General Bradley, as well as many others who were called upon to carry heavy command responsibilities, you have an historical record which provides irrefutable proof of the loyalty of our Negro troops.

Moreover, I should like gratuitously to add to this testimony that I have seen or experienced nothing since the close of hostilities that leads me to believe that our Negro population is not fully as worthy of its American citizenship as it proved itself to be on the battlefields of Europe and Africa.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Mr. WOOD. I submit that letter for the record.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, in your conversation with Mr. Robinson did he indicate he would come at a later date?

Mr. WOOD. Yes; next Monday. He expressed regret that he was unable to come at this time, and said he would be glad to come down Monday of next week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Alvin W. Stokes.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Stokes, will you hold up your right hand? You solemnly swear the evidence you will give the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STOKES. I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF ALVIN W. STOKES

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Alvin W. Stokes?

Mr. STOKES. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. STOKES. New York City, December 4, 1904.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Stokes, I would like to ask you to make a report to the committee regarding certain investigations which you have made.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have been employed as an investigator by the Committee on Un-American Activities for several years.

Mr. WOOD. Would you mind speaking just a little bit louder. We can't hear you up here.

Mr. STOKES. Yes, sir.

During that time I have given some special attention to Communist attempts to infiltrate, control, and dominate Negro organizations and to recruit, capture, and control outstanding Negroes and others for service in the Communist movement.

In the course of my investigations, I have interviewed hundreds of Negro leaders in every walk of life. On the basis of these interviews and committee records, I can report that hardly more than 1,400 Negroes, or one-tenth of 1 percent of the entire Negro population of the United States, are members of the Communist Party. This in spite of the fact that they have been and are the target of constant and relentless Communist propaganda.

For instance, in the District of Columbia there are less than 100 Negro members of the Communist Party out of a Negro population

of approximately 200,000. Even so, I would question the true intent of even these 1,400, many of whom I am sure would be found loyal to the United States in a real moment of crisis.

Mr. Chairman, if you will permit, I would like to interpolate here for a moment. I think it is something that should go on record. I think this is a proper point to state that were it not for the NAACP, which has fought and is still fighting to legally correct injustices, the Urban League, to which much credit must be given for the continuing accelerated integration of Negroes in the industrial and business life of the Nation, and the many city commissions on human relations and unity, together with hundreds of Protestants, Catholics, and Jewish ministerial and interracial councils, what success communism may have obtained among Negroes must be left to speculation.

Here, too, I think it should be reported, to the honor and the glory of the Negro woman, that her rejection of communism is a strong and formidable factor in limiting Communist political and civic influence among Negro men specifically, and the Negro population generally.

During my investigations I have been made acutely aware of the fact that the Communist Party of the United States has seized every opportunity to exaggerate the inadequacies and inequalities in our democracy, not for the purpose of resolving issues but for the purpose of aggravating the problems and creating disunity among the people of the United States by setting race against race, religion against religion, and class against class.

From recent observation, it appears that the Communist Party has for the time being camouflaged its program for the setting up of an independent Negro Soviet Republic in the so-called Black Belt of the South. This proposal was and is cunningly calculated to promote civil war in which the Negro people would be sacrificed to the machinations of Moscow. This proposal, as camouflaged as it may be, remains inherent in current Communist propaganda.

To cite a case in point, I attended a welcome home rally for Paul Robeson held on June 19, 1949, at Rockland Palace, One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue, New York City. The speakers at this meeting, by inference, deplored the lack of rebellious spirit on the part of the Negro people. It is my opinion that, while no individual speech at the meeting could be construed as a direct incitation against the Government of the United States, the sum total of the inferences, implications, and analogies, together with the temper of the speakers as the statements were made, could leave little doubt in the minds of the audience regarding the intent of the speakers.

At this meeting Mr. Robeson repeated in substance the allegation made by him at the Communist-inspired World Peace Conference in Paris, France, on April 20, 1949, that:

It is unthinkable that American Negroes or Negroes anywhere would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind.

I can state, however, that only 25 percent of Mr. Robeson's audience was made up of Negroes. The rest were the usual ragtag and bobtail of the Communist Party.

The fact of the matter is that the Negroes of this country appreciate the blessings of America. They sacrificed their lives to defend it in the last war. They will do the same whenever the United States is in

danger because they realize that, despite certain inequalities and conditions which exist, the American way of life provides ample opportunity to correct these conditions through democratic processes. The American Negro, down to the poorest sharecropper, is better off than the vast majority of Stalin's subjects.

To be sure, rebellion against constituted governments in the event of war with a Communist nation was the theme song of the Paris conference, and Mr. Robeson effectively soloed that song when the Kremlin gave the signal. It was perhaps the most nefarious song Mr. Robeson has ever offered. It was designed to deceive Communists, deceive non-Communists, deceive pro-Communists, deceive anti-Communists, in America and abroad, and was planned to activate old prejudices, stir up new hates, and create greater disunity in this country. (Representative Velde enters.)

Mr. STOKES (continuing). It perhaps would be charitable and comforting to state that Mr. Robeson spoke for himself at the Paris Peace Conference, but that is not true. Mr. Robeson's voice was the voice of the Kremlin. With that voice he managed successfully to identify Negroes with communism in many politically illiterate minds and fastened the relationship in the thoughts of other persons who have every reason to know better but think as they do, I suspect, because of a guilt complex.

To some extent Robeson's statement achieved its objective. A report of a survey of the reaction of white persons to Robeson's statement made by competent white reporters revealed that more than 50 percent of nearly 1,000 persons questioned in the seven cities believed that:

1. The Negro population of the United States is communistically inclined.
2. That Negroes would be disloyal to the United States in the event of war, providing they had the opportunity to commit disloyal acts.
3. That Negroes and Jews contributed little to victory in the last war.

While most Americans know and concede that the Negro population is perhaps one of the most loyal and most exploited segments of the population of the United States in spite of the fact that it is the victim of disparaging reflections and certain inequalities, the statement made by Mr. Robeson was the first to smear the historical loyalty of the Negro people since Chrispus Attucks shed his blood on the Commons of Boston in the Revolutionary War.

I should like to have your permission, Mr. Chairman, to interpolate here again with reference to a survey in seven cities of the country concerning reactions of white persons to Robeson's statement. I should like to say at this moment that reports from surveys made in the South sustained a very strong belief in the loyalty of the Negro people.

This hearing, however, is only concerned in part with Mr. Robeson's statement and it is only concerned at all because it represents a new high in low Communist propaganda attempts to exploit the Negro population.

This hearing, which is one of a series of hearings now in preparation, is being held at this time in response to numerous requests by prominent Negroes and white persons to expose Communist propaganda directed to minority groups.

It is hoped that these hearings will show that the Communist Party, in order to gain recruits from the minority groups to its insidious purposes, uses three principal methods:

1. The Communists exploit the grievances of the minority groups.
2. The Communists through this exploitation begin to create a disaffection for the United States.
3. The Communists endeavor to develop an affection for the Communist system of government through propaganda directed to the minority groups.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of your investigation, did you receive any information which would indicate that the Communists were responsible for the Detroit race riot?

Mr. STOKES. I received no information that would directly link the Communist Party with the Detroit race riot. However, I did receive information that the Communist Party created an atmosphere conducive to racial disorder.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the race riot was in progress, were the Communists active according to information received by you?

Mr. STOKES. According to information received by me, the Communists at that time regretted that the riot had taken place. This is understandable when it is realized that Russia had been attacked and the Communist line had changed as of that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. I believe you said there were 1,400 Negro Communists in the country?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you have a break-down of that by States?

Mr. STOKES. I do not have a break-down at the moment by States.

Mr. HARRISON. Of those 1,400, aren't they localized a great deal, most of them being in certain areas such as New York, Michigan, and Illinois?

Mr. STOKES. I would say yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Isn't it a fact that communism among Negroes in the South, take Virginia for example, is very small in comparison with New York, Michigan, and Illinois?

Mr. STOKES. I would say yes.

Mr. HARRISON. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Case.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Stokes, how long have you been an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. STOKES. Since April 21, 1947.

Mr. CASE. 1947?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. How did you obtain your reports on the Robeson home-coming meeting?

Mr. STOKES. I was there.

Mr. CASE. Did you hear the speakers make the speeches deploring the lack of a rebellious spirit among the Negroes of the United States?

Mr. STOKES. I did.

Mr. CASE. Who were the speakers?

Mr. STOKES. The speakers were Louis Burnham, Charles Howard, and Mr. Robeson.

Mr. CASE. And it was your estimate that only 25 percent of the people present were Negroes?

Mr. STOKES. That is correct.

Mr. CASE. How many people were present, would you say?

Mr. STOKES. Approximately 5,000.

Mr. CASE. Have you investigated personally the extent of active Communist membership among members of the Negro race?

Mr. STOKES. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. CASE. Have you personally investigated the extent of active Communist membership among members of the Negro race?

Mr. STOKES. I have.

Mr. CASE. And these figures that you have cited are based upon your own personal investigation?

Mr. STOKES. And committee records.

Mr. CASE. Committee records?

Mr. STOKES. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Records of this committee?

Mr. STOKES. Committee on Un-American Activities, that is correct.

Mr. CASE. Do you know whether or not Mr. Robeson is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STOKES. I do not. I do know of his open loyalty to the Communist movement and, if the chairman pleases, I will introduce the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is a record of the Un-American Activities Committee relating to Paul Robeson, showing his various associations with Communist-front organizations and certain activities of his. I desire to offer it in evidence and mark it "Exhibit Stokes 1."¹

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be received.

Mr. VELDE.

Mr. VELDE. Isn't it true, Mr. Stokes, that Paul Robeson has written many newspaper and magazine articles in which he admits he is a Communist?

Mr. STOKES. I have not read any article which stated directly that Paul Robeson is a Communist.

Mr. VELDE. He wrote an article about 4 years ago, in the Saturday Evening Post, I believe, or some other magazine, in which, as I recall, the first line was the statement: "I am a member of the Communist Party."

Mr. CASE. I would like to ask Mr. Stokes with respect to these other speakers at this rally which you attended. The Mr. Howard whom you mentioned, is he a Negro?

Mr. STOKES. Yes, he is.

Mr. CASE. The other speaker, was that Mr. Burnham?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Burnham, yes.

Mr. CASE. Is he also a Negro?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

¹ See appendix, p. 485, Stokes Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. CASE. Do you know whether or not either of these is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STOKES. I do not.

Mr. CASE. Do you know how the attendance was arranged for the meeting at this homecoming? Were tickets required?

Mr. STOKES. Yes; and tickets were sold.

Mr. CASE. Tickets were sold?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. What was the admission fee?

Mr. STOKES. The admission fees were 80 cents, \$1.20, and \$2.20, I believe, somewhere in that general scale.

Mr. CASE. Do you know who received the proceeds from those tickets?

Mr. STOKES. The meeting was under the sponsorship, as I recall, of the Council on African Affairs.

Mr. CASE. Council on African Affairs?

Mr. STOKES. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Do you know anything about the organization of this council?

Mr. STOKES. The council is one among several other organizations which has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization. It has also been cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. CASE. And you estimated that there were 5,000 people present who paid admission fees from 80 cents to \$2.20?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No further questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. There are in the hands of the committee various statements reported by numerous newspapers in the United States regarding statements made by Paul Robeson, one of which I will read, quoting from the Los Angeles Examiner of October 8, 1946:

"I'm not a member of the Communist Party," Robeson said, "but if I was going to join any party—Democratic, Republican, or Communist—I'd choose the Communist."

I desire, through you, to offer in evidence and have made a part of the record this list of statements allegedly made by Paul Robeson, and mark it "Exhibit Stokes 2."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be received.²

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, it certainly seems to me, in view of the fact Mr. Robeson has made statements that reflect seriously on the loyalty of a large group of our population, that he should be subpoenaed to appear before this committee and give us the basis for the statements he made at this meeting. I would like to suggest at this time that the speech he made at New York be incorporated in the record.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, if we put in his speech, it seems to me we should also put in the other speeches made at that meeting.

Mr. WOOD. Are there available copies of the speeches made at that meeting?

² See appendix, p. 485, Stokes Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. STOKES. I have no knowledge that copies of the speeches made at the meeting are available to the committee at the moment.

Mr. WOOD. Did you make some extracts from them yourself?

Mr. STOKES. I did, and I might say again that nothing in any individual speech could be construed as an incitation against the Government of the United States, but the sum total of the speeches made and the temper of delivery of those speeches left no doubt in the minds of the audience as to the clear intent of the speakers.

Mr. WALTER. As I understand, Robeson did state flatly that the American Negroes would not fight against Russia in the event of war between this country and Russia?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Robeson stated, as I recall—and this is not an exact quote—in substance this is what he said:

It is unthinkable that American Negroes or Negroes anywhere would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind.

Mr. CASE. On what do you base that as the substance of his remarks? Did you make notes of what he said?

Mr. STOKES. I made notes of what he said.

Mr. CASE. And this is your summary of what he said?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. Do you know whether any representatives of Negro organizations who are respected by the majority of the Negro race have made any statements disavowing this as a fair statement of the attitude of members of that race?

Mr. STOKES. There have been statements by prominent Negroes denying the accuracy of Mr. Robeson's allegation.

Mr. CASE. Do you have any of those statements with you today?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have various statements of that character here, which I would like to present to the witness and have him read them into the record.

Mr. STOKES. I read now an excerpt from the New Jersey Record of July 2.

Mr. CASE. What is the New Jersey Record?

Mr. STOKES. It is a newspaper, I assume. [Reading:]

New Jersey Record of July 2, one of the leading Negro newspapers in the country, reflects the views of the great majority of colored citizens.

"Robeson lived well here in the United States. He has seen doors opened to him that were closed to the masses of Negroes. He has been placed in a position from which he can trumpet his magnificent voice to the world. Talent alone put him where he is today; a talent so great, that it pushed down innumerable barriers.

"Now that he is in a position to reach down and help others of his race, to be a liaison agent between the races here, he has made himself an object of disgust. On every side we are asked, 'Why doesn't Robeson go on back to Russia and stay there?'

"We ask the same question."

(Source: Congressional Record, July 8, 1949, p. A4571.)

Mr. CASE. Is the New Jersey Record itself a Negro publication, or is it quoting Negro publications or referring to their comments?

Mr. STOKES. I might say I am not familiar with the New Jersey Record.

Here is an excerpt from a letter which was inserted in the Congressional Record Appendix, May 16, 1949, page A3090, which is as follows:

Mr. CASE. Who is it by?

Mr. STOKES. It is a letter received from one of the reputable Negro leaders of Independence Mo., Mr. J. E. Henderson.

Mr. CASE. Does your memorandum indicate who placed the insertion in the Record.

Mr. STOKES. It does not at this point.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask permission that the insertion in the Congressional Record be identified in the record of this hearing following the hearing. It seems to me that in order to be of value in these hearings, it ought to be identified so that it refers to some reputable person. It should carry the name of the person who placed it in the Record, which would give it some standing.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show the proper identification.³

Mr. CASE. What did Mr. Henderson say?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Henderson said—and this is an excerpt:

The flag of Old Glory will never drag the dirt as long as the Negro of America lives.

Mr. TAVENNER. In order to facilitate the hearing I may state to the committee that we have letters received by the committee which can be incorporated into the record, but which are not available at this moment.

Mr. WOOD. Let them be presented and made a part of the record in connection with this hearing.⁴

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Were there any solicitations for membership in the Communist Party made at this meeting for the return of Paul Robeson? I don't mean openly, but were any persons in the group making solicitations?

Mr. STOKES. I saw no person in the group seeking to obtain recruits for the Communist Party.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. You saw no one approached?

Mr. STOKES. I did not.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Rabbi Benjamin Schultz.

Mr. WOOD. Hold up your right hand, please, You solemnly swear the evidence you will give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. My name is Benjamin Schultz.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. My home address is 65 Elliot Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y., and my professional address is 220 West Forty-second Street, New York City.

³ Extension of Remarks, Hon. Hugh J. Addonizio, Congressional Record, July 8, 1949, p. A4571.

⁴ See appendix, p. 485, Stokes Exhibit No. 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of any Jewish organizations engaged in the fight against communism?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Well, I am a member and I am also the national executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, and, to a further extent, all the Jewish organizations to which I belong are fighting communism. There are a great many of them. But this organization of which I am national executive director is taking that fight as its one and only specialty.

Mr. TAVENNER. What opportunity have you had to personally observe Communist propaganda attempts to deceive, corrupt, disunite, and exploit minority races in the United States?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Sir, may I suggest that it will satisfy you if I give my prepared statement in connection with your question, a documented statement with twenty-odd exhibits. Some of the exhibits will be read by me, but others will just be given to you. Will it be all right if I give my prepared statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. That will be satisfactory.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Paul Robeson's attempted provocation of American Negroes against their country, and in favor of Russia, is only one instance of a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame racial and religious minorities here against the United States.

In reality there are two facets to this policy:

First, in the inciting of Jews, Negroes, and other groups against America.

Second, is the setting of racial groups against one another by exaggeration and creation of differences, through insidious propaganda. The ultimate aim is to throw this land into confusion, paving the way for Stalinist revolution and conquest.

The majority of Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and foreign-born, in common with their fellow-Americans, detest communism. The Jackie Robinsons are typical of the Americans of Negro extraction, and the Paul Robesons are not typical. We persons of Jewish blood—note I say Jewish blood; no person of Jewish faith has any sympathy with communism—we persons of Jewish blood have our Paul Robesons also, but with us, too, the Jackie Robinsons are in the majority, and we have the same proportion of good Americans as are found in the general population.

Our Negroes have suffered much, but they know that step by step conditions in their country are improving. This is because we live under a system where open discussion and airing of grievances are possible, and we have faith in the ultimate victory of our democratic system. In a slave state like Russia, this open discussion and constant improvement would not be possible. Nevertheless, the Communist fifth column in America attempts to use the Negroes, and they also try to use other minority groups, such as the Jews. Constant vigilance is necessary.

The Jew is a lover of liberty. The American Jewish League Against Communism represents the majority viewpoint of American Jews on this subject of communism. On our board of directors are such representative men as Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, a past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans; your own colleague, the Hon. Abraham J. Multer; Isaac Don Levine; Eugene Lyons; Alfred Kohlberg; Morrie Ryskind, of Hollywood; Rabbi David S. Savitz; and Rabbi Ascher M. Yager, leading orthodox rabbis of New York.

My humble self, I am an ordained rabbi since 1931, previously having graduated from the University of Rochester. I was assistant rabbi in Brooklyn from 1931 to 1935 and was rabbi at Temple Emanuel in Yonkers from 1935 to 1947, 12 years. In 1947 I resigned from Temple Emanuel in Yonkers because this evil of communism was so great and international in its scope that I desired to wage the fight against it in a larger field.

We Jews are proud of Bernard M. Baruch, elder statesman and leading fighter against communism; such writers as David Lawrence, who opposes the Red totalitarianism which is nothing but Red fascism; and that great leader of labor, David Dubinsky, mortal foe of everything communistic in the great labor movement. The vice president of his International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Charles Kreindler, is on the board of directors of our league.

As a rabbi, a believer in God, a servant of mankind, I cry out against this black force of communism which is ushering a new dark age into much of our world, and which seems to be expanding. It brings nothing but chains and stultification of the soul to the individual. The individual is sacred. He is not a clod. He is formed in the image of God. Communism would make him a clod. Moses commanded: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." This is found on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. The real Jew cannot help being a good American.

As a Jew, I consider communism equivalent to fascism and nazism as a great historic evil.

This country is in greater danger—because of the very subtlety of that danger—than it ever has been in all its history. And persons of Jewish faith have found more peace and prosperity in America than they ever have in any corner of earth. Not only as Americans, but also as Jews, they must act against the enemy of America.

But the Communists, unfortunately, will not desist from their efforts to capture us until either all the minorities are separately won over, or the Communist movement is destroyed.

We have mentioned the first facet of the conspiracy—the inciting of Negroes, Jews, and others against the United States.

In exhibit 1, *Daily Worker*, August 3, 1948, we see a typical instance of something out of the whole cloth, "Cops disrupt Mt. Vernon Wallace rally," in which it is stated a letter was sent to the mayor of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., by a pro-Communist club protesting the police department's attitude and practices toward Negroes.⁵ I have not heard of any reputable club in Mt. Vernon protesting police action.

In exhibit 2, *Daily Worker*, August 2, 1948, a big headline screamed, "Drunken cop shoots 2 Negro war vets." This was in Brooklyn. And here is a significant sentence in this item from the *Daily Worker*: "Don Lester, organizer of the Crown Heights Communist Party, visited the family as soon as the tragedy became known."⁶

Well, it must be remembered that the whole problem of minorities, so-called, is greatly interwoven, so we go from one race to the other.

It must be remembered that the United States Communist Party is the only party in America with a permanent Jewish section. The "spiritual" leader of that section is Alexander Bittelman, who is listed

⁵ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 1.

⁶ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 2.

for deportation as an alien Communist. He has written a text for Communists called *To Secure Jewish Rights—the Communist Position*, a 40-page pamphlet, exhibit 3.⁷ I quote from page 37:

The influence of Communist policies in the American Jewish national group is undoubtedly increasing.

He is an optimist. (Continuing reading:)

Communists in trade unions, fraternal organizations, cultural movements, children's education, women's organizations, * * * are helping to shape and influence the struggle for Jewish rights.

He speaks of Communist activity in the American Jewish Congress, a large national organization, and I wish to say that recently the American Jewish Congress expelled two Communist organizations, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council, much to the disappointment of Mr. Bittelman. The large Jewish organizations like the American Jewish Committee, Jewish Labor Committee, and Jewish War Veterans, are anti-Communist. But constant vigilance is necessary, gentlemen, in all American organizations, Jewish and Christian.

To summarize Bittelman's pamphlet briefly, and to paraphrase it, we can put it into four categories:

1. Preach anti-Americanism.
2. Increase hysteria and insecurity among the Jewish people, to make them think that they are lost in America but safe in Soviet Russia.
3. Further the Wallace movement among Jews. This admonition is found on page 17. This, by the way, is an official document of the Communist Party. I quote from page 17:

It is necessary to rally the Jewish masses to fight for a third party and for a Wallace Presidential ticket.

4. Organize all kinds of meetings and print pamphlets on various Jewish grievances.

We must remember that Stalinist propaganda seeps down into confused liberal circles, and that is where it does the most harm. My exhibits 4 to 10 illustrate the danger, for instance, of the anti-American propaganda.

Exhibit 4 is a big headline in the New York Morning Freiheit, Yiddish-language Communist organ, of July 3, 1948, which reads, "Nuremberg in Washington." This thing is very long and I am not going to translate the whole thing. This article mixes every Jewish local and foreign just grievance into a porridge, to make the reader believe that the rulers of America are about to exterminate him.⁸

Exhibit 5 is an editorial from the New York Morning Freiheit of June 17, 1948, headed "American Airplanes Against Jewish Immigrants." During the Palestine truce some American airplanes were sent as part of the truce patrol, and the Freiheit editorial just cited would have these American airplanes threatening the Jews.⁹

Exhibit 6 is not on a serious topic at all. It is a column in the Morning Freiheit of June 10, 1948. The title is "America, America, Ha Ha" in a mocking tone, and it says:

⁷ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 3.

⁸ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 4.

⁹ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 5.

America! What kind of country do we have here? It is a crazy country, because here a woman offered to marry herself to the highest bidder.

The same column mocks:

America! What kind of persons do you have for Senators and Congressmen? It doesn't like the type of legislators we have.¹⁰

Exhibit 7 is a typical news item from the *Morning Freiheit* of December 16, 1948, and it is significant. A powerful gentile is spearheading part of the conspiracy. It reports that Bruce Bliven, executive editor of the *New Republic*, who, I will add, is not a Communist, is to speak before a pro-Communist group on the topic, "The Growth of Anti-Semitism in America." He is heralded as believing that anti-Semitism in America is now so great that it is as bad as it was in Germany when Hitler came into power.¹¹

Exhibit 8 is a big headline in the *Freiheit* of June 22, 1949, "They are looking for the attackers of Walter Reuther, but they arrest only Negroes and Jews."¹²

There are further exhibits here along the same lines which I will be glad to explain to anyone.

Exhibit 9 is an editorial from the Yiddish-language *New York Day* of July 1, 1948.¹³

I come now to exhibit 10. I wish to show this to you. Last August, when the Washington espionage ring was exposed by this committee, the *Daily Worker* called it "Another Spy Frame-Up" and ran with its editorial a picture of Alfred Drefus, the persecuted Jew, and said: "He was framed, too." The implication, to me, is very obvious.¹⁴

So much for Mr. Bittelman's first implied category, anti-Americanism. Now let us get on to the fostering of hysteria, or insecurity. I will give you a couple of exhibits (exhibits 11, 12, and 13) which are almost along the same lines I have shown to you. I want to get on to exhibit 14.

Incidentally, about Jewish insecurity, I want to speak as a Jew. We have some little reason for feeling insecure in the world. Six million of my brethren were slaughtered in Europe in the past few years. This has unbalanced a few persons into thinking that they are about to be murdered. And the Communists are taking full advantage of it. I feel that the less real discrimination there is, and the less real grievances there are, the easier will the cure be.

Besides anti-Americanism and hysteria, there was the Bittelman advice to work for Wallace and to hold meetings for various classes of the population. Here the Communist effort to snare the Jews merges with the Wallace effort. The two are almost indistinguishable.

Exhibit 14 describes the Manhattan County Convention of the Communists in July 1948, which determined the work "among the national groups like Italians, Jews, Irish, Puerto Ricans, and others."¹⁵

Exhibit 15, from the *Daily Worker* of June 8, 1948, is a beautiful ad with pictures. It advertises Senator Glen Taylor in Brooklyn. He is to speak in Brooklyn. He is not from Brooklyn, as you know. The heading is: "Defend the State of Israel." In this ad people with banners are shown. One banner says they are opposed to conscription, and right next to it is a banner "Defense of Israel." In other

¹⁰⁻¹⁵ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibits 6-14.

words, opposition to Conscription and American armament is linked with defense of Israel—a dangerous association which I consider essentially anti-Semitic in its effect. Other speakers advertised with Senator Glen Taylor are Communist Lee Pressman and Communist William S. Gailmor.¹⁶

Here is exhibit 16, a beautiful folder on Henry Wallace's Greater New York Conference on Jewish Affairs to take up all the grievances of Jews on behalf of the Progressive Party. I may be ignorant, but I haven't heard of any political party having a conference on Jewish affairs except this one.¹⁷

After this conference was held, a publication appeared, sponsored by Wallace, called *The Jewish Citizen*, issued by the Jewish affairs advisory committee of the Progressive Party. What do you know about that? "*The Jewish Citizen*"; a special kind of citizen. Here every bit of insecurity that people of the Jewish faith may have is exploited to the hilt. This paper links up the defense of the Communists and the appeasement of Russia with the welfare of the American Jewish people. In this issue of October 1948 (exhibit 17) there is an article on the back in the Yiddish language, by Philip Novick, editor of the Communist organ *Freiheit*, on Ilse Koch and her relationship to our elections. You know Ilse Koch, the Beast of Buchenwald, who gained fame for making lamp shades out of human skin. The upshot of the article is that if you are not voting for Henry Wallace, you are voting for Ilse Koch. You can have *The Jewish Citizen*.¹⁸

This story has a happy ending. These people were terribly disappointed—these Wallace-backing, hysteria-mongering, anti-American, pro-Communist forces trying to confuse the Jew. The New York elections were not to the liking of the *Daily Worker*. There were millions of Jewish voters in New York and the Wallace vote amounted to only a few hundred thousands. The *Daily Worker* of November 10, 1948 (exhibit 18) expressed its disappointment and said that in the "most progressive Jewish working-class districts" the voters were expected to be for Wallace but had turned out to be for Truman. There was much pondering about the meaning of all this, and shaking of heads among the fifth column, but the answer is simple: Americans of Jewish faith are Americans. And I may add for the record that quite a few voted for Dewey, too.¹⁹

We skip now to the Pacific coast.

Los Angeles is a thorny problem. It is a peculiar town in some respects. I was there and I know that the climate is wonderful and most of its people are wonderful. Hundreds of thousands of Jews live there, many of whom are transient and too many of whom are not interested in their Jewish community council. Therefore, we have the well-meaning Jewish leaders terrorized by Communist elements, who are always alert.

The Los Angeles Jewish Community Council is one of the few such councils in the country where the Communist organization, International Workers Order, has been a part of the council and they have not been able to dislodge it over a period of years. Even the atheist schools of the order are part of the Jewish school system. I am doing this to awaken the Jews in Los Angeles, who, I am sure, do not want this to go on.

¹⁶⁻¹⁹ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibits 15-18.

Here is a photostat put out by the Los Angeles Jewish Voice, September 10, 1948 (exhibit 22), urging all Jews to send their children to a Jewish school, and among the schools listed is the Communist school of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order.²⁰

A pro-Communist reign of terror exists. But what can we expect under the circumstances? Mrs. Phyllis Ziffren was for a long time president of Hadassah, the largest Jewish women's organization. Exhibits 19, 19-A, and 20 show her constant affiliations and associations. Here (exhibit 19-A) she is speaking at a rally of YKUF, a Communist organization, and on the program with her is the pro-Communist Z. Weinper, and also Mr. Henry Sazer, executive secretary of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Jewish Labor Council, cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark.²¹

Here (exhibit 19) Mrs. Ziffren, president of the Los Angeles Hadassah chapter, is a guest speaker at a luncheon sponsored by the Emma Lazarus City Committee (Los Angeles) of JPFO, Jewish People's Fraternal Order, listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

And here is a clipping from the New York Morning Freiheit of November 11, 1948, page 3 (exhibit 21).²²

As soon as the majority of Los Angeles Jews decide to become active, they will boot these elements out. In the meantime, Detroit remains an example of a fine anti-Communist Jewish community. And New York, the center of Jewish life, has a group of leading Jews inspiring anti-communism in the whole population, Christian as well as Jewish. I named some of them at the beginning of my statement.

But Los Angeles is really an animadversion. The fact remains that the Wallace vote among Jews was a terrible disappointment to the Communists of America, and the Jews, like other minorities the Reds are trying to capture, remain solidly American.

About the very time that this became manifest, the state of Israel refused to accept the Soviet taffy and began to be regarded as ungrateful. The population voted overwhelmingly against the Communists. The largest political party there is oriented toward the West.

Now I ask a question: Could all this be the reason why Russia showed its true colors and turned openly against Judaism and Jews?

The answer is in the field of conjecture. All that is plain is that the Soviet Union wooed American Jews by every device of propaganda (as outlined by Bittelman) and failed dismally. Also, it is clear that the Soviet line changed abruptly about 1 year ago.

Zionists here became anathema to the Communists; leading Jews were arrested in Russia for expressing sympathy with Judaism. The campaign against the Jewish religion in Russia was intensified. Itzik Pfeffer, P-f-e-f-f-e-r, the leading Russian Jewish writer, is missing. He remains missing, and local Communists will not answer the question what has happened to him.

It is probable also that the new anti-Jewishness of the Soviet regime is meant to deflect the rage of the hungry and downtrodden Russian masses from Stalin to the eternal scapegoat, the Jew. Of writers and

²⁰ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 22.

²¹ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibits 19, 19a, and 20.

²² See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 21.

intellectuals purged in the last few months, Jewish names are in the vast majority.

Exhibit 23 is a Russian newspaper from Moscow, Pravda, issue of March 5, 1949, and I have lined off a paragraph in the first column. I quote from this paragraph. Listen carefully to it and its tone:²³

Homeless cosmopolites who know nothing of creative labor, of truth and honor, have crept into our editorial offices, scientific institutions, and universities. They are people who feel no duty toward the nation, the state, or the party. It is our urgent task, therefore, to smoke these bourgeois cosmopolites out of their holes, because these people without a people or a country hinder the development of Soviet literature.

It sounds like the old Czarist Jew-hatred. It also reminds us of the old Communist line of 1929 when, for purposes of their own, the Reds were encouraging the Arabs to kill the Jews in Palestine.

Exhibit 24 shows two cartoons in the New York Morning Freiheit. I wish all the committee could see this at the moment. Here are two cartoons published in the Freiheit. It is printed in the Yiddish language. These Communists are not really Jews; they are just Communists.²⁴

One cartoon appeared September 4, 1929, and shows the Zionist as a pudgy monstrosity with a hooked nose using an old bearded Jew as a shield. This bearded Jew has an even bigger hooked nose. Streicher, the Nazi, could do no better.

The other cartoon was published in the Freiheit of September 19, 1929, and is labeled "Zionist Charity Giver." He is a gruesome Jew, again with a hooked nose, and a shield of David on his stomach with the dollar sign over it. The other cartoon has the shield of David, or six-pointed Jewish star, on a big money bag.

This was the Communist line in 1929, and it is turning that way again. The Communists will turn on any minority to gain their own ends. The Communists are the friends of no one but the Communist ruling regime.

We have taken up the first facet of the Stalinist policy of the provocation of minorities—the inciting of Jews, Negroes, and other groups against America. But there is another side to this sowing of confusion for a purpose. It is the setting of one minority group against the other.

This devisive agitation derives from a statement by Lenin in his book, *Left Communism*, that "the time for decisive battle" is "fully ripe" when "all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently confused, are sufficiently at loggerheads with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves in a struggle beyond their capacities."

Well, one day the Communist Daily Worker deplored the "brutal attack on two Italian boys in Red Hook," Brooklyn. But that same moment Communists were circulating among the Negroes in New York's garment manufacturing sector and spreading the story that the largely Italian Local 89 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a local headed by Luigi Antonini, was discriminating against Negroes and not admitting them to the local. There was not a particle of truth in the accusation. The purpose of the rumor was to destroy the anti-Communist leadership of local 89.

²³ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 23.

²⁴ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 24.



Not the Nazis but the Communists published and peddled these vicious and disgusting anti-Semitic cartoons. They appeared in the Morning Freiheit, official Communist party Jewish language newspaper after the 1929 Arab massacre of Jews in Palestine. Object: to discredit Jewish aspiration for a homeland in Palestine and justify Stalin's power bid to the Arabs against the British. Yiddish caption over Freiheit cartoon at left (Sept. 19, 1929) meant "The Zionist Charity Giver"; that over the cartoon at right (Sept. 4, 1929) meant "The Mask Behind Which He Shoots."

But the most outrageous instance of Red devisive agitation occurred in dressmaking Local 22 of the ILGWU, managed by Charles Zimmerman, an anti-Communist. Here an organized effort is still in process to set Negroes against Jews. In 1947 Zimmerman charged that the Reds had hired a Negro girl to spread the libel that the Jewish officials were anti-Negro. These Jewish officials happened to be anti-Communist.

Here is exhibit 25, a news account in the *Day*, showing that on March 3, 1949, before 1,500 people in Manhattan Center, at a convention of local 22, a Negro girl, Minna Springer, arose to charge that the Communists in the local "use Negroes and other minorities for political ends." That is, against the anti-Communists.²⁵

Red-instigated violence between Negroes and whites in New York dress factories has narrowly been averted by the capable union leadership.

In Detroit, in 1948, Leon Mosley, a Negro boy, was killed by a police bullet. The Communists began a violent agitation among Negroes, which was of anti-Semitic nature. Fearing harm to the many white Jewish shopkeepers in the area, Oscar Cohen, executive director of the Jewish Community Council, appealed to the police and responsible Negro leaders, and precautions were taken against the Communists and their anti-Jewish incitation. Exhibit 26 is an editorial in the *Detroit Jewish Chronicle* blaming the Communists for this racial trouble.²⁶

A somewhat different technique is illustrated in Los Angeles. In March 1948, a police bullet fatally hit a young Mexican, Augustin Salcido. Communist agitation resulted in "demonstrations," during one of which, it was announced, a "wreath" was placed on the steps of the Jewish Welfare Building. Why the Jewish Welfare Building? Thus two minorities were cleverly linked for Communist propaganda against the majority population. The policeman, by the way, was completely cleared by the superior court.

Exhibit 27, a Los Angeles letter to the *Freiheit*, tells the story. But whether minorities are linked, or whether they are divided, by Communist propaganda, the net result is always hatred toward constituted authority.²⁷

Isidor Begun, Bronx County chairman of the Communist Party, was recently ousted from his party post because he became nauseated with artificial race incitation. The party ordered him to accuse the Allerton Apartments in the Bronx of excluding Negroes. He refused, because Negroes had never applied to live there. He was expelled for "white chauvinism."

This testimony is perhaps the only way that certain Americans of Jewish faith will learn of the Communist conspiracy against them. That is one of the reasons I was glad to accept the invitation tendered by this committee. This testimony is also perhaps the only way that the minorities in our population will learn of their twisted function in Communist ideology. It is a good thing that they know this. The necessity of vigilance, intelligent vigilance, cannot be overemphasized.

It is a good thing that Americans generally learn of the unusual burden that Negroes, Jews, foreign-born, and other minority groups

²⁵ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 25.

²⁶ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 26.

²⁷ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 27.

must bear—the constant repelling of this subtlest of enemies. American history, the story of the recent war, and the names of persons prominent in American endeavors, show that the minorities have come out of this purgatory stronger and purer than ever.

We Jews have suffered from discrimination for centuries. We have enough real trouble without having the Communists create trouble for us where it does not exist, or having them imagine troubles for us. I know that other racial and religious groups feel the same way.

The one sure thing about America today is that, through the democratic process, injustices are being gradually removed. I would recommend to Americans that the removal of these injustices be hastened, and that the Communists be thereby further weakened.

I trust that no American and no liberal will allow himself to be used for an international conspiracy which, if successful in the United States, would abolish the American way of life and substitute a slavery unparalleled in world history, signifying tragedy and death to liberals and conservatives, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, whites, Negroes, and all freedom-loving men on this continent.

Mr. Chairman, will you allow me to state the names of certain 100 percent Communist fronts purporting to appeal to the Jewish people, in order that well-meaning people may be cautioned against them?

Mr. Wood. We will be glad to have them in the record.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. American Biro-Bidjan Committee: Biro-Bidjan is that area in Soviet Russia which is supposed to be a Jewish homeland, but which is nothing but a fraud. There is no Jewish life there to speak of. For 30 years they have collected money for the Jewish people of Biro-Bidjan, and nobody knows where that money goes.

Here is a cute thing recently formed known as the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. That is composed of the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, both cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

Here is a Jewish publication: Jewish Fraternalist. This is the official organ of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order.

The so-called School of Jewish Studies of New York: It is a school of Communist studies.

Jewish Council for Rehabilitation of Russia: Now deceased, luckily.

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists: That is a Communist-front, pro-Russian, anti-American organization, not representative of the Jewish people.

Here is a publication: New Currents. It appears very irregularly. It is the organ of the subversive American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists.

Chelsea Jewish Children's School is a Communist front.

Defense Committee for Alexander Bittelman: That is the ineffable optimist, now listed for deportation, who is the "spiritual" leader of the Jewish section of the United States Communist Party.

Icor: It may be inactive now, but it is likely to come up again at any moment. It is a Communist front.

Naileben is the official publication of Icor.

Ikuff: That is not really Jewish. It is Communist. Sholem Asch, the famous author, denounced Ikuff a week ago. They had even fooled him. He said he didn't want to have anything to do with Ikuff because they were pro-Communist.

One of the amazing things is that the International Workers Order, which is listed as subversive and which goes in for nationalities, is chartered as an insurance organization. Yet it pays for full-page ads in the Daily Worker advocating or disapproving things done by the Government of the United States or Congress. I am not a lawyer, but it would be well to look into the insurance qualifications and activities of the International Workers Order in New York State.

Jewish People's Committee: Now deceased, cited as subversive and Communist.

And now I want to mention a magazine called The Protestant. It is not affiliated with any church at all. You call a magazine The Protestant; you claim to be Christian; you begin to fight anti-Semitism; you go to Jews and say "We are Christians fighting anti-Semitism"; you follow the pro-Communist line. It is a racket of powerful proportions. It has been officially denounced by the central representative of the Jewish Community of the United States.

They are liable to spring up at any time.

I wish to end up by saying that our great representative organizations, such as B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish League Against Communism, will live up to the highest American ideals and are Jewish and anti-Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know what the circulation of Freiheit is?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. The circulation of Freiheit is very small. I don't think it is over 30,000. But I might say it screams very loudly, and they give out a lot of free copies.

I am glad you asked the question, because it gives me the opportunity to bring to your attention that the largest Jewish newspaper in the world, with 100,000 daily circulation, the Jewish Daily Forward, is probably the leading anti-Communist force in America and has been for years past.

Mr. WALTER. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions. I want to thank the rabbi for his vigorous statement against communism, and commend him for his stand.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Case.

Mr. CASE. You have made a very interesting statement. There is no doubt in my mind but that organizations of minority groups dedicated to the task of spreading the true principles of Americanism must take the major responsibility in opposing and counteracting Communist activities, particularly among minority groups.

The organization of which you are now executive director, the American Jewish League Against Communism, has been in existence for how long?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. For a little more than a year. It was announced in March 1948.

Mr. CASE. And do you have a membership?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes; we have a membership. We have just concluded 1 year and the paid-up membership to be reported is one thing, and the membership that has joined within the year is something else.

I would say our membership consists of several thousands. I must ask the treasurer for the exact number today.

We have members in 22 States. We have two incorporated chapters, one in New York State, and one in California, working mostly in Los Angeles. And we have groups working in cities which are not incorporated but which are aiming to become incorporated. I have received requests in the past week to form chapters in Chicago and Baltimore, and many requests have come in from small communities.

Mr. CASE. Does your organization depend exclusively on membership fees?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes. We are a nonprofit educational organization subsisting on memberships and on labor unions.

Mr. CASE. What is your membership fee?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. We have no stated fee. Anything over \$1 is accepted as a membership fee. We have members in the range of \$1 up to \$15,000, and those dues are paid.

Mr. CASE. I was interested in this pamphlet which you presented as an exhibit, entitled "To Secure Jewish Rights—The Communist Position" by Alexander Bittelman. According to the imprint on it, it is printed by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Are you familiar with New Century Publishers at that address?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes. I have never known a publication of New Century Publishers to follow anything but the pro-Communist line.

Mr. CASE. I notice on the back page of this publication there are listed, over the name of New Century Publishers, "Recent Pamphlets," as follows:

N. Y. Herald Tribune's 23 Questions About the Communist Party, Answered by William Z. Foster.

Should Americans Back the Marshall Plan? by Joseph Starobin.

Jewish Culture in America—Weapon for Jewish Survival and Progress—by Nathan Ausubel.

Culture in a Changing World—a Marxist Approach, by V. J. Jerome.

Notes from Gallows, by Julius Fuchik.

The Red-Baiting Racket, by George Morris.

Why I Am a Communist, by Benjamin J. Davis.

In this publication by Mr. Bittelman I note this sentence on page 36:

The National Jewish Commission of the Communist Party in its 12 months of existence has realized some significant objectives formulated in the party's resolution on Jewish work.

Then after a sentence or two it says:

A major field of operation for our commission was to guide Communist participation in the Morning Freiheit, in the Morning Freiheit Association, and in Jewish Life.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. May I add to the list of publications that are Communist, Jewish Life. Jewish Life is a Communist publication. There is, unfortunately, another publication of the same name which is orthodox and not Communist at all.

Mr. CASE. What is the difference between the Morning Freiheit and Jewish Life?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Morning Freiheit is daily and in the Yiddish language. Jewish Life is monthly and in the English language.

Mr. CASE. How can you distinguish between the two publications of Jewish Life?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. I have tried to tell these excellent people of the other Jewish Life to do something about it, and I hope your question today will encourage them to change their name or to force the other publication to change their name.

Mr. CASE. Apparently neither one has the name registered as a trade-mark.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. That I would not know.

Mr. CASE. Also in this pamphlet by Bittelman I notice on page 16, in connection with the section headed "The 1948 elections," this paragraph:

The 1948 elections, which will decide the next phase of the people's struggle, already present three simultaneous directions for progressive action. First, the fight for a progressive pro-Roosevelt Congress; second, the fight for the building of a third party, a people's anti-imperialist, democratic, peace party; third, the fight for the launching of an independent people's Presidential ticket. We must bend every effort to involve the Jewish people in these election struggles, especially in the large centers where most of the Jewish masses live.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes. I pointed out that they failed.

Mr. CASE. What do you take it they mean where they say, "First, the fight for a progressive pro-Roosevelt Congress."

Rabbi SCHULTZ. When a Communist uses a word, and when a non-Communist uses a word, the word assumes different meanings. For example, when Communists talk about peace, they mean Russian conquest. When Communists talk about a pro-Roosevelt Congress they mean something diametrically opposed to what a non-Communist means when he talks about a pro-Roosevelt Congress. The Communists have adopted the memory of President Roosevelt, I am sure much to the distress of followers of President Roosevelt.

Mr. CASE. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I wanted to make a comment that this committee is not operated for political purposes. I would add to that statement that the committee has never questioned the loyalty of the Jewish people nor of the Negro people, and that the proceedings and hearings now being conducted are conducted in the spirit of cooperation with such people as yourself in the fight against communism.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that the New Century Publishers referred to by Congressman Case has been cited by this committee as an official Communist Party publishing house by its action on May 11, 1948; and that similar action was taken by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you very much, Rabbi Schultz. You may be excused.

The committee stands adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning. (Thereupon, at 12:10 p. m., on Wednesday, July 13, 1949, an adjournment was taken until Thursday, July 14, 1949, at 10:30 a. m. Later in the afternoon, however, it was decided to continue the hearings at 4 p. m. of the same day.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 4 p. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Morgan M. Moulder, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. Let the committee be in order, and let the record show that for the purposes of the session this afternoon the Chair has designated a subcommittee composed of Mr. Moulder, Mr. Velde, and Mr. Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mr. George Hunton.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand, please. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUNTON. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF GEORGE K. HUNTON

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state your full name.

Mr. HUNTON. I am George K. Hunton. My residence is in Brooklyn, N. Y. I was born in the United States and have been a resident of the State of New York for about 35 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. HUNTON. At present I am the executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, and editor of its publication, the *Interracial Review*.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been so engaged?

Mr. HUNTON. Since the organization of the council 15 years ago, in both capacities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I will ask Mr. Stokes to examine this witness, as he has talked to him.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Hunton, will you please relate your education, training, and experience prior to your present position as executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes. I was educated at Holy Cross College and am a graduate of Fordham Law School and a member of the New York bar. I practiced law several years before getting into the Catholic Interracial Council work. The Catholic Interracial Council is made up of white and Negro Catholics, and it has an educational program to combat racial prejudices and to secure social justice for all, regardless of race. From the beginning our program has been constructive, and we have opposed all forms of totalitarianism. From the beginning we have leveled a three-front attack against nazism, fascism, and communism.

Mr. STOKES. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUNTON. I am glad you ask that question. Of course I am not, first because I regard myself as a good American, and that would preclude anyone sincerely from becoming a member of the Communist Party. And, secondly, I believe in God and religious freedom; I am a member of the Catholic Church; and under no circumstances would I ever consider being a member of that very dangerous, corrupt, and subversive organization.

Mr. STOKES. What personal opportunities have you had to observe Communist propaganda attempts to deceive, corrupt, disunite, and exploit the Negro population in the United States?

Mr. HUNTON. I have found, as have all members of my group—that is, the officers and directors of the Catholic Interracial Council—over the years, that Communists in general employ two tactics: (1) they attempt at all times to increase antagonism between different groups. In our particular area that means they increase antagonism between reactionary whites and the disadvantaged Negro group. The purpose is to defeat constructive programs for social justice and to turn the Negro from democratic processes to the relief promised by the Communist Party.

I would like to say at this moment, in my judgment this sinister plan has failed completely. There have been remarkable gains in interracial justice over the years. The Negro has not been drawn into the Communist Party; and may I anticipate a future question and say in my judgment there always has been and is today and I believe in the future the Negro will remain completely loyal to his country, the same as loyal white Americans.

In 1934 I became a member of the American Scottsboro Committee. I came in at the behest of Mr. Liebowitz, who was upset over the tactics of the Communists in goading the South and playing havoc with any kind of defense. A group went in the committee made up of non-Communists. I think I was the only Catholic in that group, but was made a member of the executive committee of the group.

We found from the outset the Communists wanted to have conferences with us. We had knowledge of what they had done before. We knew when the boys were first arrested the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had taken over their case to guide and counsel them, and had secured representation for the boys by reputable counsel, men from the South as well as men like Mr.

Hays and Clarence Darrow from the North, only to find the Communist coterie made things so unpleasant they had to withdraw, and NAACP withdrew on account of the fact this group had charged the NAACP with having collected money for the boys and having diverted it for their own purposes.

Parenthetically, may I say I had the pleasure later on of hearing a Communist leader repudiate that and regret they had made that mistake of charging NAACP with having misappropriated the funds.

Mr. WOOD. At this point, could you give us the source of that information you received?

Mr. HUNTON. I was going to come to that, Mr. Chairman, a little later. Perhaps it might fit in better there, although if you wish I will go into that now.

Mr. WOOD. No. That is all right.

Mr. HUNTON. We went into the case there with our eyes open and made up our minds we would have no conferences in any shape or form. We went despite everything being done. There were constant expeditions and groups of people going into the South to goad southern opinion and to attack the southern courts and to distribute inflammatory literature; to do everything possible to arouse sentiment in the South and destroy any climate where it would be possible to try a case.

We knew they were willing to jeopardize the chances of those boys. In my opinion, from everything I have observed over the years, the Communists in that case did not want the boys freed. They wanted them kept in jail, and so forth, to be held up as martyrs.

In 1934 the committee suggested that I go down South and talk to southern leaders and find out what the situation was there. Again we saw a parallel situation. I talked with white and Negro leaders, educators, lawyers, editors, writers, and people active in interracial work. All those I interviewed were white and Negro southerners who believed in the innocence of these boys and wanted them freed and regretted the fact the South was being goaded by this inflammatory sort of attack and barrages of pamphlets and rabble rousing that took place down there.

A little later on, the American Scottsboro Committee was notified that overtures had been made by a group which wanted to organize what I believe was the first united front in this country. They are a group of outstanding, reputable leaders. I met them in the office of Morris Ernst. There were Norman Thomas, Walter White, Charles Houston of this city, and others, in no shape or form sympathetic to communism or Communists, but they had been persuaded that they should go along and have a united front instead of divided councils. They asked our committee to go along with them, and I remember our committee said we knew from our own experience that it wouldn't be safe; that you couldn't depend on the Communists, or trust them, you couldn't rely on their word; that they did not want the boys freed, and we would not go along and seemingly give support to a group we constantly denounced.

In connection with that conference, a Communist leader, Robert Minor, asked Walter White why he didn't show more enthusiasm for going along with this united front. Mr. White spoke up and said:

"We have never gotten over the viciousness of the attack that the Communists made to the effect that the NAACP had taken the money given for the use of these poor boys and used it for organizational purposes."

Mr. Minor raised his eyebrows and said: "Did we do that? If we did, it was a mistake."

I remember two or three people leaning over and saying to Walter White: "Not a crime; but a bad blunder, bad politics."

That was another example of how we saw communism in action. Instead of being humiliated at having to admit that had been done, they say it was a tactical error, a bad bit of strategy.

The united front did not work. Our apprehensions were all justified. You can have all kinds of testimony, and such testimony has come out in the papers. People have explained what the situation was. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Roger Baldwin, and others found the Communists continued this attitude of exploiting the boys, goading the South, defying the courts and prosecutors, and making it impossible to secure freedom for the boys.

I understand from the leaders that many times they had secured a tentative agreement of parole for some of the prisoners, and as soon as that was done a group of Communists would come down and picket the courthouse and negotiations would be called off. Today I think there are still two boys in jail, and I have no doubt but that if the Communists had their way there would be seven others still in jail.

That is one case.

Mr. STOKES. Are there any other cases you have personal knowledge of that have been exploited in such manner?

Mr. HUNTON. It was attempted.

I am a member of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. I was one of the original group who met when it was organized 5 years ago. This organization is made up of representatives of all churches—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews—and all national origin groups, but it was to have no Communist affiliation in any shape or form. Yet the Communists definitely tried to climb on the band wagon.

For example, at the time we held a Madison Square Garden rally shortly after it was organized, they sent a group to us and wanted to know if they could have people come under the program. We said "No," it would not be allowed. Whereupon they denounced the meeting in the press, picketed the meeting, distributed circulars to the effect that the national council were not sincere in this movement.

Another case was the situation where they tried to climb into a committee that had something to do with integrating the Negro in big-league baseball.

In 1931 Monsignor Campion of Brooklyn formed a committee made up of people like Commissioner Naughton, civil service commissioner of New York; distinguished Negro sports editors; one or two others; and myself. Letters were sent to the press calling on Lawrence McPhail to admit Negroes in national baseball.

There was a meeting set and Communists came. They had to stand to one side and wait because we would not go into conference with them. They stood without shame, and after the conference, when pictures were taken, they stood in the background although they were not in the conference.

They tried in every way, while this was going on, to picket the offices of the Pirates in such a way as to stir up the resentment of the management there.

To make a long story short, conferences were held with Monsignor Campion and his group which brought about the hiring of Jackie Robinson, which was a very excellent thing for racial relationships. In my judgment the hiring of Jackie Robinson improved the racial attitude of hundreds of thousands of sports lovers in this country.

The Communists knew at the outset that this step, if taken, would be a forward step and would improve race relations. They didn't want to improve them, they wanted to worsen them, and therefore they did everything possible to stir up resentment of those in authority in national baseball, but they did not succeed.

In the National Negro Congress they did make progress. That was a sound, constructive organization started about 10 years ago. It was a good organization, with a sound, constructive program, and the Commies moved in, and within a year and a half the white Communist members completely outnumbered the Negro members and took over. Be it said to his credit that the then president, A. Philip Randolph, roundly denounced them and then resigned, and said no longer would the National Negro Congress represent the feeling of the Negro people who organized it. It died out since then because it was Commie-controlled and known to be Commie-controlled.

MR. STOKES. To what extent have Communist propaganda attacks been directed against Catholics?

MR. HUNTON. I think every time there is a religious controversy between, perhaps, members of the different churches, and some attack is made on Catholic people, the Commies jump on the band wagon and try to make the situation as bad as possible.

I was interested in what Rabbi Schultz said about the support they gave the Communist, anti-Catholic paper, the Protestant. They have tried to play upon Protestants inclined to be anti-Catholic in their sentiment to stir up bigotry.

MR. STOKES. Is there anything in your experience that would tend to indicate potential disloyalty among any segment of the population?

MR. HUNTON. I am very glad you asked that question. I think I can testify objectively as a person who has been deeply interested and who has made a great many associations and worked in many movements, such as the fight for an antilynching bill, and the NAACP's program for increasing employment opportunities for Negroes, and my own work as editor of our magazine, and I say that as between white America and Negro America there is no difference in the degree of patriotism.

The Negro, in particular, is perhaps the only group in this country who has absolutely no background of memory of a fatherland or motherland. He is an American and nothing else.

MR. MOULDER. As a matter of fact, a greater percentage of Americans are members of the Negro race than of any other race?

MR. HUNTON. I think so. They are Americans and nothing else. They certainly, I think, in my judgment, have gone very far in delving into the duplicity of Communists. They have been fooled several times, but in my opinion I think they would be prepared to give salutary advice to well-educated pinks. I feel very definitely that the Negro always has been, is today, and in my judgment always will be

a great American, a real, loyal American, upstanding in every way, shape, and form. A great many more things to distress him and tempt his loyalty have confronted him than those of us who are white, but in spite of that there have been no traitors in his group. We cannot say that of the whites. There have been traitors among the whites.

The patriotism of Negro America is just as great as the patriotism of the overwhelming majority of white America, and in my judgment the patriotism and loyalty of the American Negro never ought to be questioned in this country again, and I believe and agree with those who are the authorized spokesmen and representatives of Negro leadership who have said: "Paul Robeson is speaking for himself and only for himself."

Mr. STOKES. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. I was very much interested in your testimony. I feel that the Negro, since the days of emancipation, as a race has risen very rapidly. He has gone from a dejected position to a very high position. I want to thank you for your contribution to setting the minds of the people at rest as to the attitude of the Negroes. I served with them in both wars and am proud to call them my comrades. I don't know to this day but that the Unknown Soldier may be a Negro boy, and I pay the same tribute to him whether he be a Negro boy or a white boy.

Mr. HUNTON. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. We are very glad to have you here. It is a sad commentary that the only person in high position who has ever brought into question the loyalty of the Negro race has been himself a member of that race.

Mr. HUNTON. I thank you very much for the opportunity to be here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Young.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand, please? You solemnly swear that the testimony you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. YOUNG. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Be seated.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF THOMAS W. YOUNG

Mr. TAVENNER. Please state your name.

Mr. YOUNG. My name is Thomas W. Young.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. YOUNG. I was born in Norfolk, Va., October 8, 1908.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is your present occupation?

Mr. YOUNG. I am president and general manager of the Guide Publishing Co., Inc., publishers of the Journal and Guide, a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 65,000 principally in Virginia and North Carolina.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in the publishing business?

Mr. YOUNG. Practically all my life. My father was the founder of the paper in 1910. At least, he took it over as a small journal at that time, and I have been in it with him since I came out of school in 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your educational background?

Mr. YOUNG. I went to public schools in Norfolk, Va., and high school at Hampton Institute, and college at the Ohio State University at Columbus, Ohio. I studied law and journalism and completed both courses.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Stokes, will you question the witness?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Young, do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. We will be glad to have you read it.

Mr. YOUNG. I am happy to accept the invitation extended me to appear before this committee because I feel very strongly the need for bringing into proper perspective some of the opinions that have been expressed publicly concerning the loyalty of the American Negro.

It would serve no useful purpose for me to dwell upon the more obvious manifestations of the Negro's loyalty. These have already been mentioned here by others. Instead I should like to address myself to what seems to me to be the flimsy foundation upon which the apprehension about the loyalty of this group rests.

Please bear this in mind, that there is no evidence on record of the disloyalty of their country on the part of Negroes generally. It has not been charged, even, that there have been overt acts by Negroes on which suspicion of disloyalty could be predicated. On the other hand, the entire record of the American Negro's service to his country, from the Revolutionary War, in which Crispus Attucks, a Boston Negro, was among the first to shed blood for this Nation's independence, down to the recent World War II, in which members of this group played important and heroic roles on every front, is a satisfactory refutation of such charges.

That record and the contributions of the Negro to this country's great peacetime achievements should render unthinkable any presumptions of inconsistent conduct at any time in the future.

But there has been expressed a dissent by one who has at least won the attention of those for whom and to whom he now purports to speak. And it is that dissent which occupies our thinking today. I think it will be helpful to recognize that simple fact and deal with it directly and specifically.

What basis, if any, is there for believing Paul Robeson when he says that in the event of a war with Russia the Negro would not fight for his country against the Soviets?

No matter how strongly we may believe it is false, that statement, coming from Mr. Robeson, is not easily disposed of. His own life story is an inspiration to the humble people for whom Mr. Robeson now presumes to speak. Whatever else we might think of his personal loyalties, it would seem highly improbable that Mr. Robeson could be unfaithful to his own people. So it must be conceded that his intemperate outbursts at Paris carried appreciable weight, however much we may dislike the notion.

Two things can be pointed out to discredit that statement. In the first place, Mr. Robeson is now so far out of touch with the Negro's thinking and his everyday emotions that he can no longer speak au-

thoritatively about or for the race. His distant travels and his latter-day preoccupations with the affairs of the Soviets have broken the bond he once held with the Negro mind. He has so completely removed himself from the intimate affairs of the Negro group in America that he no longer has the opportunity to know nor the authority to speak about the aims and aspirations and resolutions of this group.

The plain truth about the matter is that in his Paris declaration Mr. Robeson has done a great disservice to his race—far greater than that done to his country. And if Mr. Robeson does not recognize the injury he has done to the cause of the Negro in this country, then that underscores his disqualification as a representative of the race. And if he does not recognize the injury he has done, he must also be cognizant of the extent of his betrayal of his race in the interest of the new cause to which he now devotes himself.

But the second point, while less obvious, is more helpful in arriving at a proper perspective. It is this: The Negro in this country is as basically American as any other element of the population. He has been on the soil as long; he has fought to protect and preserve its liberties, and he has toiled to help build the Nation during all the years of our history. The things he yearns for and strives for are entirely compatible with the aims and the shibboleths of Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin and George Washington and all the others who helped found this Nation.

We have got to acknowledge that in some respects our democratic processes have slowed down or failed temporarily. But any over-emphasis of these circumstances obscures the more important fact that, despite these occasional reverses, the machinery which we in this country have embraced for the realization of our declared way of life is nevertheless accomplishing, however slowly, the most cherished aspirations of the Negro group. The evidences of this accomplishment are everywhere, although they are frequently corrupted by the miscarriages of the machinery.

I think it is very clear that what the Negro in this country wants is simply to have our democratic machinery functioning properly. We do not want to throw out the framework of our present plan of operation in favor of another that has never been exposed to the problems which frequently bog down our machinery.

The dissatisfaction so often shown for the manner in which our democratic processes are functioning is too frequently misunderstood. And a few opportunists with questionable motives have exploited this to the extent that it now becomes advisable to adopt effective counter-measures.

We have this disadvantage: The Communists have thrown what amounts to a picket line around our democratic establishment. And we are observing that "picket line" with the same blind reverence that is shown to all other picket lines in this country. Everyone accepts the righteousness of the cause of the pickets, no matter how unreasonable or how wrong it may be.

I experience some of that reluctance today, for I know that there are some who will ask: "Who is he to question the wisdom of Paul Robeson?" But until someone dares to cross the "picket line" thrown about our establishment by these Communists, the true cause of the Negro will be lost by the default of those who discern its outlines and recognize the dangers it faces.

Mr. Robeson does not speak for the young men who served their country so well during the recent war. He does not speak for the common people who read and believe in the Negro newspapers. He does not speak for the masses of the Negro people whom he has so shamelessly deserted.

I have heard Paul Robeson declare his own personal disloyalty to the United States. He has no moral right to place in jeopardy the welfare of the American Negro simply to advance a foreign cause in which we have no real interest.

It is my firm conviction that in the eyes of the Negro people this false prophet is regarded as unfaithful to their country, and they repudiate him.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Do you, as a representative of your people, know of any other country in the world which would recognize the splendid talents of Mr. Robeson more than America, and any country which would have compensated for that voice more than this country?

Mr. YOUNG. My experiences are limited. I would not be qualified to say whether or not some other country might, but I will say I think this country has very generously recognized his talents and rewarded him for them.

Mr. McSWEENEY. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I want to compliment you on your clear and concise statement and reiterate what I said this morning, that it is not the purpose of this committee to question the loyalty of the Negro race. It is thoroughly understood by the members of this committee that it is above reproach. These hearings are being conducted to combat the idea Paul Robeson has given by his statements.

Mr. YOUNG. That was the impression given to me.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Young, when, where, and under what circumstances did you hear Paul Robeson declare his personal disloyalty to the United States?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, I will have to relate something first. In college I joined a Greek-letter fraternity. It seems Mr. Robeson at sometime also joined that fraternity. I would like to say that is the only organization, so far as I know, to which both of us belong.

He came to Norfolk in October 1947 at a concert. It was a pseudo concert, because it merely afforded him a platform on which to speak for a while. Then this fraternal organization gave a smoker for him. There were about 22 men present.

The usual subject matter he would dwell upon came up, and he spoke his mind on it along the lines we expected. I remember distinctly he made this statement, and I quote it, I think, almost word for word: "If this country ever went to war against Russia and my son took up arms to fight against Russia, he would no longer be my son." That was October 10, 1947, at Norfolk, Va.

Mr. WOOD. So his pronounced sentiments recently are not indicative of his being recently converted to communism?

Mr. YOUNG. No. I am sure his feelings expressed now coincided with those he expressed a year and a half or 2 years ago.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. I appreciate your very intelligent statement. Do you know whether or not Mr. Robeson was a Communist Party member or a Communist at that time?

Mr. YOUNG. No, I do not. I asked him the question myself and I got no answer.

Mr. VELDE. He refused to answer?

Mr. YOUNG. It was a social conversation and he talked about everything else but that and never came back to it.

Mr. VELDE. Have you had any other contacts with Mr. Robeson except at this fraternity meeting?

Mr. YOUNG. No, except 20 years or so ago, in 1931 or 1932, I was at a small gathering where he was present, but I was not in close contact with him there.

Mr. VELDE. Do you think it would be advisable to have Paul Robeson subpoenaed to testify before this committee?

Mr. YOUNG. That involves an opinion which may be of no value to the committee. I will answer it if you wish. It is purely my opinion.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, we understand that.

Mr. YOUNG. I don't think you would get any helpful information. You would get some statements, but I don't think they would be much help.

Mr. VELDE. What I am getting at, he has made statements of disloyalty to the press, apparently, and to you personally. If he would repeat those under oath I think the effect of his testimony would be very startling to the people of the colored race.

Mr. YOUNG. It is possible that would be true.

Mr. MOULDER. Don't you think his appearance before this committee would be publicized?

Mr. YOUNG. I think he would use it as a sounding board to further spread his ideas. What his notion is, I don't know. I am familiar with the fact that the Negro publishers, almost to a paper, completely repudiated Robeson's statements. Until the past June I was president of our Publishers' Association, and I know all members of our organization were thoroughly in disagreement with him.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know of any Negro publication in this country, or any outstanding Negro leader in this country, who is in accord with the views recently expressed by Robeson and which he expressed to you 2 years ago?

Mr. YOUNG. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the organization of which you are a member Nation-wide?

Mr. YOUNG. It includes all the major newspaper publishers. It is a national organization.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Did you happen to be at the homecoming rally for Mr. Robeson?

Mr. YOUNG. No; I wasn't.

Mr. STOKES. Would you care to relate the subject of the conversation or discussion that preceded the statement by Mr. Robeson which you have quoted?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes. Of course, as you have probably become familiar, certain phrases and words tell you who is speaking and what he is speaking about, and we had hardly gotten started until we got to that, and, probably out of mischief, I appointed myself a cross-examiner of him.

One statement he made was how long it would take for the struggle of the masses to achieve the democratic goals they sought. He related he had been traveling through the North and had stopped at one university and asked how long it would take, and they said 500 years; and another school said 1,000 years; and another school said it would never happen in America under the present set-up we have here.

Mischievously, again, I asked why, with all the advantages he had seen in other parts of the world, he had brought his own son back here to go to school. He didn't answer that question, either.

Mr. Wood. Thank you very much.

The committee stands adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning. (Thereupon, at 4:55 p. m., Wednesday, July 13, 1949, the subcommittee adjourned.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

MORNING SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m., in room 226. Old House Office Building, Hon. John McSweeney, presiding.

Subcommittee member present: Representative John McSweeney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. McSWEENEY. I would like the record to show that Mr. Wood has asked me to act as chairman of the subcommittee to hear the testimony this morning. I am present and others will be present a little later.

Mr. Tavenner, will you call the first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Mr. Granger.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Raise your right hand, Mr. Granger. You swear the testimony you give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRANGER. I do.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Will you proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am going to ask Mr. Stokes to proceed with the questions.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF LESTER B. GRANGER

Mr. STOKES. Will you give your full name and address?

Mr. GRANGER. My name is Lester B. Granger. I am the executive director of the National Urban League, which has its headquarters at 1133 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. STOKES. Do you have a prepared statement, Mr. Granger?

Mr. GRANGER. I have a prepared statement I would like to present and then submit myself to any questions the chairman or members of the committee might want to ask me.

Mr. STOKES. I ask you now whether you are or have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRANGER. No.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you. Will you proceed with your statement.

Mr. GRANGER. A brief description of the Urban League may serve to give point to some of the remarks included in this statement.

The National Urban League is a social-service agency which seeks to improve the socio-economic conditions under which Negroes live in American cities, using to this end the professional skills of organized social work and the lay leadership of representative colored and white persons who serve on the executive boards and committees of the National Urban League and its local affiliated branches in 29 States and the District of Columbia.

In the usual sense of the phrase, the Urban League is nonpolitical. But every American social agency that deserves the classification social agency must be political to the point of subscribing unreservedly to the principles that must govern a vibrant and growing democracy. And a social agency, to be truly American, must be opposed to any social and political forces that threaten the onward march of that democracy. It must, therefore, be opposed to communism, as well as to fascism. It must not only reject the dishonest appeals of those who would substitute a State-controlled existence for the democratic relationships involved in group cooperation and personal freedom. It must resist these, but at the same time it must strongly fight against the native-born proponents of a brutal racism such as Hitler found to be a convenient tool in his building of the Nazi state.

Thus, as the National Urban League goes about its work of providing better job opportunities for Negro workers, better homes for Negro families; and better facilities for health and recreation and good citizenship among the Negro population, and seeks to make such provision through use of the leadership resources of the best among our white and our colored leaders throughout the country—in doing such a job the National Urban League constantly finds itself opposed to and opposed by the proponents of communism in the United States.

I have made the foregoing statement, Mr. Chairman, in order to set forth without any chance of misunderstanding the philosophy and methodology that govern the operation of the National Urban League insofar as political questions are concerned. But in making the statement that follows, I am speaking, not as the chief executive officer of the Urban League, but rather as a Negro individual—one who has spent more than 15 years in the service of his organization and who has traveled throughout the country in large cities and small, who has had intimate contacts with all types of Negro and white Americans; who has been in the offices of labor unions, in the plants and offices of business and industry, in churches and lodges and social clubs and civic groups of both the Negro and the white population. As an individual, therefore, who has had ample opportunity to observe not only to what extent Communist influence has been developed among our Negro population, but also the methods and the techniques and the strategies by which the Communist Party has sought to advance its cause among the Negro people of this country.

Let me make it very clear from the outset that I consider that the extent of Communist influence among our Negro population has been grossly exaggerated, not only by spokesmen for the Communist Party, but also by gullible and fearful defenders of the status quo in politics. I believe that objective reference to a few basic figures will prove my point.

The number of Communists in the United States who are officially members of the party has been variously estimated during the last 10 years at between 100,000 and 200,000. Of course, these numbers do not represent all of the influence generated by the Communist Party, for so-called "fellow travelers" have been estimated at between one and two million. In other words, for every official member of the Communist Party, there are believed to be some 10 or 12 "fellow-travelers," or effective and consistent sympathizers with and supporters of the Communist Party line.

Mr. McSWEENEY. May I interrupt there?

Mr. GRANGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Does that mean they belong to anything? Are they card holders?

Mr. GRANGER. No. The one or two million, according to my understanding, do not formally belong to anything, except they may belong to Communist-front organizations.

Mr. McSWEENEY. They are merely sympathizers?

Mr. GRANGER. Sympathizers, going along.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Excuse me.

Mr. GRANGER. American Negroes have traditionally reflected with a fair degree of consistency the political thinking of their neighbors and their neighborhoods. In sections which are overwhelmingly Republican, for instance, the great majority of Negroes are apt to be Republicans. Where they are distinctly Democratic, the great majority of Negroes are Democratic. The chief exception to this general rule is to be found in those Southern States where, through manipulation of election laws for a great many generations, Negroes have been prevented from voting as Democrats in the primaries of an overwhelmingly Democratic area.

Now, Negroes are 10 percent of our national population, and if this same consistency in adherence to prevailing political thinking holds good with respect to Communist belief and persuasion, then 10 percent of the members of the Communist Party—and possibly 10 percent of the "fellow-travelers"—would be colored Americans. In other words, there would be, according to this method of figuring, approximately 10,000 Negro members of the Communist Party and another 100,000 inclined to support the party in its political objectives and policies. Even if this were true, these numbers would hardly be large enough to justify the wild speculations that have been indulged in about Communist infiltration in Negro leadership groups, or Communist capture of the political power of Negroes.

Actually, however, the ratio is a great deal less than one-tenth, as is admitted by Communists themselves in their infrequent moments of frankness. Fifteen million Negroes live in these United States, but of that number approximately 65 percent—close to 10,000,000—still live in the South. And, as everyone here knows, the media of communication are more limited in the South than in other parts of the country.

Transportation is more difficult, especially in those farming areas where the large proportion of our southern Negro population lives. And because of limited transportation and communication facilities it is difficult for any undercover movement to spread in the South, unless it be a movement which suits the purposes of the dominant majority.

The Ku Klux Klan, for instance, was at one time able to spread very

rapidly because it fitted ideally into the plans of the political and economic overlords of the southern region at that time. And so because of these basic difficulties of communication, the chances are slight that there has been any important recruitment of Negroes in that very part of the country where considerably more than half of the Negroes live.

It is my-considered opinion that the number of Negroes in this country who are members of the Communist Party falls considerably below even that 10,000 mark which would be established by the usual population proportions.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Let the record show that Mr. Velde is present. You may proceed.

Mr. GRANGER. The highest figure that I have heard quoted from any authority is 2,000. The party has suffered serious losses of membership during the last few years.

This latter figure is further supported by the experience of the Progressive Party in the recent Presidential election. It is no secret that Henry Wallace's candidacy for the Presidency, if not originally conceived, was at least warmly supported by the Communist Party. And Communist spokesmen and political hacks did their utmost to convince American minorities—and especially such groups as our Negro population—that their best chances of improving their social and economic position lay in rolling up a large protest vote for Henry Wallace, even if their candidate should not be victorious in the election. And every person present will remember the grandiose claims of coming victory that were made by "Wallaceites."

It will be remembered, also, that at the Wallace meetings there was invariably a generous turn-out, and whenever the Presidential candidate spoke in the environs of such cities as New York or Chicago a large number of Negroes were sure to be included among his audience.

And yet what happened in the election? An analysis of the election returns shows that the number of votes corralled by Henry Wallace as candidate for the Presidency approximately equaled the maximum estimate of the number of "fellow-travelers" consistently supporting Communist purpose.

Mr. Wallace rolled up around 2,000,000 votes, but if the figures available from such cities as New York and Chicago are to be taken as evidence of what happened, considerably less than 10 percent of those 2,000,000 voters were Negroes.

New York's Harlem, that tremendous Negro neighborhood, is frequently represented by its detractors as a "vast, seething hotbed of communism." Yet in Negro Harlem, Henry Wallace consistently ran a poor third to President Truman and Governor Dewey. In five election districts of that area, President Truman received 108,643; Governor Dewey, 34,076; and Henry Wallace only 28,903—14 percent of the total vote cast in that area, and that was practically a total Negro vote.

In Brooklyn, where another large concentration of Negroes is to be found, the figures show a similar ratio—one that was lower than the ratio of white support for the Progressive Party candidate.

In Harlem, again, the Negro candidate for the State Senate, running under the banner of the American Labor Party—a Progressive Party affiliate—and a Negro who is in excellent standing among Communist sympathizers, received only 12,719 votes against the vote of 55,874 for the regular Democratic candidate, who was white.

In Chicago, three Negroes sought to represent the Negro south side in Congress. The Democratic candidate rolled up a count of 98,204 votes; the Republican, 43,620; the Progressive Party candidate, 5,188.

And yet Chicago and New York are the two large cities which have been constantly referred to as centers of Communist influence among Negroes.

Where, then, is this vast outturning of Negro following in response to an assumed Communist leadership of our Negro population? I say that there was no such turn-out because no such following ever existed except in the imagination of the defenders of the status quo and the spokesmen for the Communist Party.

Why, then, all the shouting about Communist influence among Negroes? Why the blatant claims by spokesmen for the Communist Party, and why the hysterical charges by the defenders of an entrenched conservatism? Because I believe that analysis of the claims and charges will show them, in the main, to proceed from one or the other of these quarters.

The answer to the mystery reveals that there is no mystery at all. The Communist Party seeks to establish among Negroes and the rest of the world the illusion of an influence they actually never hope to attain.

On the one hand, that illusion, if foisted upon the public, might tend to intimidate truly democratic Negro leadership in their opposition to the Communist Party, for fear of losing their own influence with their own racial group. And on the other hand, that illusion might persuade the unsuspecting among the general public that the Communist Party is actually making progress in recruiting among the disadvantaged of the world's greatest power. Such an impression, skillfully established, would support Communist prophecies of coming collapse of capitalism, and would obviously strengthen the hand of Moscow in power politics the world over.

Some might say this is a far-fetched deduction. Yes, possibly it is. But not if we keep in mind the close-knit relationships of Communist strategy in its various world-wide aspects. And as for the anti-Communist reactionaries, they, too, are engaged in trying to fool the public by shouting "Communist" at every Negro spokesman who offers a protest against the injustices perpetrated upon his people, or by exaggerating the extent of actual Communist influence among the Negro public.

The press, for instance, has recently been full of accounts of racial clashes here in Washington, and in St. Louis, and in Youngstown, Ohio, and other cities, arising out of insistence of Negro citizens that they be given full access to public recreational facilities—swimming pools, especially—which are built and maintained through taxpayers' money. Here is a position which is defensible in law as well as in democratic theory. There is no trace of Communist ideology contained in such a position. Yet in such instances charges have been freely made that these incidents have been created by Communists.

In Youngstown, Ohio, a local newspaper and some city authorities have heavily advertised charges that "left-wing" leadership has sought to exploit the local swimming pool situation for their own purposes. By implication, at least, anti-Communist Negroes are daubed with the Red brush. According to such practice, if Communists were to come

into a city selling Bibles, the Christian church would be brought under suspicion of Communist inclination.

These accusations are, of course, playing directly into the hands of Red leadership, here and throughout the world. Defenders of the status quo may hope to intimidate reputable Negro spokespersonship, or they may seek to discredit a justifiable protest by affixing the Red label. But actually they are supporting the very position that Communists are hoping to establish, the position that Communists do have a great deal of influence among our Negro population.

Consider, for instance, the hysterical shouts and headlines that followed Paul Robeson's Paris address to a Communist-sponsored conference. That furore would have been ludicrous if it had not been so tragic. Consider this. One man, Mr. Robeson, expressed his personal opinion and made a reckless prediction of what 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States, all different individuals, would do in the event of war with the Soviet Union. And remember, also, that this same man, just a year previously, was predicting the election of Henry Wallace with the overwhelming support of that same Negro public, the Negro electorate. And I have already reminded this committee of how grievously in error that earlier prediction was.

But did the American press refer to this prophet's batting average before advertising his current performance? No. The press headlines stretched across the country. The radio blared in suburban homes and farm houses and city apartments. A Nation-wide 9-day sensation was manufactured. Prominent colored men and women, and others not prominent, were importuned by the white press to disavow the Robeson statement, and to assure white America that the traditional loyalties of American Negroes would be continued "world without end, Amen."

It is to the credit, I believe, of our racial common sense that most Negro spokesmen did not fall into the error of responding to such requests. For the most part they merely pointed to the record, and suggested that the record be brought into evidence.

The reason for this kind of response by Negro spokesmen is clearly understandable. Authentic Negro leadership in this country finds itself confronted by two enemies on opposite sides. One enemy is the Communist who seeks to destroy the democratic ideal and practice which constitute the Negro's sole hope of eventual victory in his fight for equal citizenship. The other enemy is that American racist who perverts and corrupts the democratic concept into a debased philosophy of life. In opposing the one enemy, Negro leadership must be careful not to give aid and comfort to the other.

Those white leaders of stature in this country, those who exert widespread influence in Government, industry, business, and politics, will be very badly advised if they seek to increase the difficulties of reputable Negro leadership as it stands precariously on defense against these twin enemies.

The American Negro population will never accept or willingly endure any social philosophy or political practice that enforces upon persons, merely because of their color, an inferior status in their citizen-community. Such acceptance, if offered, would be a betrayal of the Negro's responsibility for working to build democracy in the country which he has helped to found, protect, and support.

As long as there is one Negro left who can be identified as such, and who is subjected to restrictions and abuses because of his race, that one Negro will continue, courageously and stubbornly, to resist racism in American life.

In that resistance, the Negro has to choose between two allies—the one honest and the other dishonest. The honest alliance is increasingly being established with Americans who may be liberal or conservative in their political affiliation, but who are agreed that race, color, and creed must not be allowed to condition a person's chances of happiness, health, and success in the American community. To seek to check this alliance, or to disregard the principles upon which it is based, would be to encourage Negro Americans to seek support from alternative sources.

Even under the best of present conditions it is sometimes hard for the so-called average person of color to retain faith that in some predictable future his racial disabilities will be removed. That such faith is generally maintained is entirely due to the courageous and often self-sacrificing support which the Negro group has received from white Americans of democratic conviction and liberal impulse.

On the other hand, when the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama or Georgia or Florida indulges in floggings, lynchings, or other forms of intimidation of Negroes, and the Klan's atrocities are tolerated without protest, or are even tacitly approved by representative leadership of their communities, the Negro population is provided with additional grievance against the present way of life in America and Communist zeal for proselyting is correspondingly accelerated.

When on the floor of the Congress, duly elected representatives of the people of the States of the Union express obscenely racist sentiments regarding the legitimate aspirations of Negro citizens, once more aid and comfort are given to the Communist cause.

There are, it is true, only a small number of Negroes who have joined or who sympathize with the Communist Party in its efforts to "hamstring" this country's welfare, but even that small number stands, not as a testimonial to the recruiting skill of Communist leadership, but rather as a sign of our failure to make good on our democratic professions.

The party has been very clever at adopting, as if they were their very own, causes which any self-respecting Negro must necessarily support. Red spokesmen got their first soap-box position in Negro neighborhoods throughout the country with the notorious Scottsboro case.

Jim Crow practices by labor unions, denial of free employment opportunity by employers, racial segregation enforced by law or by covenants or community custom—these are situations which have nothing to do with Marxism. But they do serve the strategy of the Communist Party.

The obvious way to block such strategy is for the anti-Communists of this country to deprive our enemies of their propaganda weapon by moving with equal vigor and more honesty to eliminate these fester-spots from our national life. The prescription which I offer is less worry about Robeson and more concern for democracy.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities can make an unparalleled contribution to such an effort by instituting and vigorously prosecuting an inquiry into the activities of such organizations

as the Ku Klux Klan, and similar "black shirt" and "white sheet" groups wherever they may be found. Such efforts can well serve to reassure Negro leadership that while it is fighting against one enemy of this country, communism, our Government is helping to fight off the other, racism.

Negro leadership in America does not need any defense against the charge of being Communist-led. There are, of course, some few exceptions, in the case of the blind, the short-sighted, the careless, or just the plain stupid. But any effort to indict a whole leadership group because of the attitudes of a few persons, many of whom are completely sincere, may easily lead to a revulsion of feeling among the Negro population which would be ideally suited to the purposes of the Communist Party.

Mr. Chairman, this statement that I have made is not a report on Communist activities among Negroes so much as it is an indictment of the kind of blind mismanagement and stubborn stupidity that encourages such activities.

We in the Urban League movement—our more than 400 staff members, our more than 4,000 board and committee members—have been for years fighting against Communist objectives. Not by name calling or empty baiting of the enemy, but rather through the simple device of seeking to make democratic advances for our Negro population.

We have never been afraid of Communist infiltration, for there is no room for anti-democratic influences in a movement which is wholly and continuously and effectively engaged with the business of building Democracy.

As we lift employment barriers, one by one, and open the way to fuller employment of the skills of Negro workers; as we aid the racial group to secure better housing and a fuller share in use of public facilities—as we accomplish gains in this direction, we are cutting away the ground upon which the Communists attempt to establish their position with Negroes.

Therefore, let me repeat in closing that the real danger to America that lies in any Communist appeal to racial minorities is not any important chance that the appeal will be effective. The real danger lies in the uses which the Soviet Union and all its party puppets here and abroad can find for the unsavory racial conditions which the party so zealously advertises.

It is true that this country stands shamed before the world today because our racial practices do not accord with our professions of democratic idealism. It is this stubborn straying from our national ideal that the Communist Party has been able to use effectively throughout the world. We should remember the Communists have not forged the weapon they now use against us. We have placed it in their hands. It is still not too late to recover it.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Thank you very much. I hope the members of your league realize what a splendid presentation you have made in their behalf.

Mr. GRANGER. Thank you.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Will you proceed with your questions?

Mr. STOKES. Would you be good enough to tell us the methods used by Communists to infiltrate Negro movements?

Mr. GRANGER. I can answer authoritatively only of the experience that we have had in the Urban League, and I would deduce from our

experience that the Communist infiltration of any movements, Negro or any others, is more successful when the movements are on a loose, mass membership basis without any control over membership, and when the main interest of the organization is centered upon grievances, real or fancied, which the members hold. Under those circumstances, the conditions are favorable to Communist infiltration.

The National Urban League is a controlled-membership organization. We are a professional social service agency, and the masses of people are not usually interested in joining such an organization.

From time to time we have established popular auxiliaries of our organization. The Negro Workers' Councils we established in 1934 and maintained until 1939 were loose groups of Negro workers who, at that time, were either ignorant of or hesitant to join the trade-union movement.

The Urban League realized the country was on a wave of a greater movement of organized labor, and realized if Negroes did not join they would miss the train 10 years hence. We spent \$30,000 or \$40,000 indoctrinating Negroes on the importance of trade-union membership and the ways members of a minority group can protect their status.

That was an ideal organization for the Communists to capture, and they did. They grabbed one in New York City; we had to kill it off. They grabbed another, I think in Pennsylvania, and we had to kill that off. The Communists were never barred from entering, but as soon as we found that a council was being subverted from its true purposes and was becoming a mere mechanism for the propagation of Communist strategy, we would close it down and open another. That kept us going all over the country.

I would say from that experience that my first two statements are correct.

Their methods are to go into an organization; if there is a fee, to pay the fee; if activity is the measure of membership, to be very active; but by one means or other to get a large number of members to go in and to gravitate, generally not to the presidency or highest post, but to some minor post that is a good look-out post, and then at various points to exert open or covered control that will keep the movement going along Communist Party policy, or at least not opposed to it.

In 1936 or 1937 I wandered into the support, and ultimately became chairman, of a committee for the aid of Loyalists in Spain. At that time most liberal Americans were concerned with the Spanish war and were supporting the Spanish Loyalist cause. I pride myself on being a person of liberal impulses. I made a contribution of an ambulance to demonstrate Negro support of the Spanish Loyalists.

My contribution must have been gratifyingly large, because almost immediately I had an invitation to become chairman of the committee. Being very susceptible at that stage—I was a country boy recently come to the large city—I accepted the chairmanship. The party members are very kind. They will take away from the chairman the responsibility for doing the work. I didn't keep up with what was happening. This is a confession of stupidity.

Suddenly I found that this committee was being used for the purposes of the Communist Party in denouncing aid to Great Britain. It was called to my attention by certain non-Communist members, and I immediately called a meeting.

As usual, the non-Communist members came or did not come, according to their convenience. The Communist members showed up. I found we were only a branch and did not have authority. When I expressed myself on keeping this organization out of Communist politics, there was a tremendous and well-organized resistance from a majority of those present, and they out-voted me. The vote was that the course would continue along the previous line. Whereupon I, by letter, circulated a statement among the total membership of the committee, and we got a vote to close the committee down. That is the only thing we could do. It was captured then.

Mr. STOKES. Where can the line be drawn between Communist-front activities and Negro progressive activities?

Mr. GRANGER. At certain times you can't draw the line, because at times it is Communist Party policy completely to accept a given Negro movement. For example, a program against lynching. Every zealous Communist Party member will denounce lynching and will serve in a protest movement against lynching. You can't tell the difference. The difference can be established where a movement becomes not wholly moral but partly political, and if an alert person knows what the objectives of the organization are, he can tell when the effort is made to push the organization on the tracks of the Communist express.

This Committee for the Aid of Loyalist Spain was an example. As long as we were talking about our hopes for Loyalist victory against Fascist forces, we were all agreed and all righteous. But when we talked about the outbreak of war and boycotting aid to Great Britain and France, then it became political.

Mr. STOKES. You implied that there are instances where Communists seize issues in which Negroes must assert an interest. That is sometimes classified as fellow-travelers. Are there two kinds of fellow-travelers, would you say?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I would say there are full-time fellow-travelers and part-time fellow-travelers. There are people of my acquaintance who, as long as I have known them, have not deviated from the Communist line. In following the line they have backtracked and hurled around with marvelous agility, yet they have never deviated from the Communist line. I would call them full-time fellow-travelers.

There are others who, because of their interest in their own concern, are not too scrupulous of what use is made of their interest. They will go along 5 months or so and then drop out. I would call those part-time fellow-travelers. They are really the tools of the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. May I ask a question at this point? Don't you feel that these fellow-travelers who are full-time fellow-travelers, who refuse to admit their membership in the Communist Party but follow the Communist line consistently, are more dangerous than the actual member who admits membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. GRANGER. I think at times they are more effective because they do not admit their membership. Our policy is not to worry about whether a man has a card or not. Look at his record.

Mr. VELDE. I have a favorite expression along that line. I have often said if a person talks like a duck and walks like a duck and swims like a duck, he is a duck, and I think that is true of persons who consistently follow the party line.

I appreciate your very fine statement here, and I think it represents the views of the majority of your people. You were talking about FEPC and civil rights. Do you think that support of these various measures, here in Congress, for instance, by the Communist Party, acts as a deterrent to their passage?

Mr. GRANGER. No; I don't think so. I think it can be advertised as a deterrent, but I think any Congressman is intelligent enough to know that the civil-rights program represents the warm aspirations of all Negroes, and I think they know, also, that Communists would drop Negroes in a moment if it served their purposes. So I would say this, that a hostile reaction to legislation because Communists happen to support it is a confession of a private conviction against that legislation on the part of Congressmen.

Mr. VELDE. I am glad to hear you say that. I feel somewhat the same way, although I think sometimes Communist support of a piece of legislation acts against the passage of the legislation.

Mr. GRANGER. It can act as an expedient.

Mr. STOKES. I would like to ask you whether or not you think that the organizational structure of Negro protest organizations as of this time, in their weakness, invites infiltration by Communists?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I would say most Negro organizations now, those that are really responsible, are pretty much on guard. There are some that, in their very nature as mass movements, cannot limit people because of their religious or political beliefs, but where Communists move in the leadership are sufficiently educated to know it. Sometimes I think it is better to let the Communists move in and then chop off their heads after they move in.

As long as the boys are running around in public shouting, you know what they are saying. When they go underground, Joe Stalin will know what they are saying.

Mr. STOKES. I would like to have your permission, Mr. Chairman, to ask Mr. Granger one or two things which I realize he may be reluctant to project here, but Mr. Granger has rendered distinguished service to the Nation on many fronts. Mr. Granger, please tell the committee some of the things you have done for the Government.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. We will be glad to have that background.

Mr. GRANGER. I don't mind bragging at all.

I have been with the National Urban League since 1934, and have been executive director and chief operating head of that agency since 1941, and I hope to stay in there as long as I am able to work. It is the highest recognition I have received.

During the war, of course, I was in World War I as one of the first Negro officers who managed to get gold and silver bars. In World War II, I was fortunate in being selected to serve as a special assistant to Mr. Forrestal, then Navy Secretary, and I traveled extensively throughout the whole continental area advising on problems involving Negro personnel. Mr. Forrestal thought well of my service, as did the President, and I received the Navy Distinguished Civilian Service Medal and the President's Medal for Merit.

In the field of social work I have been honored by professional organizations. I served as first vice president of the American Association of Social Workers, which is a professional organization, and I am cur-

rently serving as elected first vice president and acting president of the National Conference of Social Workers, which has some 8,000 members. I am on the editorial board of the Social Work Yearbook, and my alma mater, Dartmouth College, conferred on me an honorary doctorate.

I could go on at great length.

Mr. STOKES. Please do.

Mr. GRANGER. I am trying deliberately to say that the Urban League is an established organization, and in this statement, though I speak as an individual, I try to speak the philosophy of the Urban League, and if I have bragged about my background it is only to typify the membership of the Urban League. We are awfully good stuff in the Urban League.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Were you at the Robeson homecoming rally?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I knew in advance what was going to be said, and I saved the time.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Were you ever approached by anyone to become a member of the Communist Party, or to become a fellow-traveler?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I have been approached in various capacities. For instance, the Negro Labor Victory Committee, organized at Harlem, which was left-wing. I was asked to be honorary president. Just a short time previously I had been denounced by the Communists because I was one of the members of the Social Service Employees' Union who opposed the union's stated policy and put on a mass meeting at Atlantic City designed to win workers over to support for Great Britain and France. That was in April or May of 1941. Those of us who participated in that rally were denounced by the union's leaders and were threatened with expulsion for what they called union-splitting.

In the midst of that, Soviet Russia was attacked, and a short time later I was approached by the Negro Labor Victory Committee and asked to be their honorary president. I considered it an insult. Three months previously I was an S. O. B.—Sigma Omega Beta. I said: "If I was a dirty dog in May, I am today and you don't want me. If I wasn't a dirty dog in May, you are today and I don't want you."

I wasn't asked to serve on anything else.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. You referred to the Urban League. I know of the splendid work of the Urban League in my district in Ohio. Has it collaborated with groups of white people, or groups of people striving to combat communism, or are you operating pretty much alone?

Mr. GRANGER. We operate as a professional social service agency, and as tempting as the invitation is, we generally refuse invitations to go out of our field. We don't have lawyers on our staff. We have trained social leaders. So the movements we cooperate with are those working along the same line.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Do you feel today that the labor organizations are helping to break down prejudices? I have noticed those in my own district are trying to break down prejudices.

Mr. GRANGER. I think labor unions are doing a good job along that line.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Mr. Velde, have you anything further?

Mr. VELDE. No.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Thank you very much.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Johnson.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Dr. Johnson, will you raise your right hand? Do you swear the testimony you will give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. JOHNSON. I do.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Stokes, you kindly brought out about Mr. Granger's background at the end of his testimony. I think it might be well for you to have the doctor state his background now.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Mr. STOKES. Will you give your full name and address and when and where you were born?

Dr. JOHNSON. My name is Charles S. Johnson. I am living in Nashville, Tenn. I am serving as president of Fisk University. I was born in Bristol, Va.

Mr. STOKES. Will you relate your academic experiences and positions held and contributions made to the educational field?

Dr. JOHNSON. I began my academic career, after leaving the University of Chicago, first working as a research director for the Urban League, then as research director for the National Urban League, then as director of the department of social sciences at Fisk University. I have been president of that institution 2 years.

Mr. STOKES. What is the size of that institution, Fisk University?

Dr. JOHNSON. We have about 1,000 students.

Mr. STOKES. Is it not true that you are the author of some volumes dealing with social issues?

Dr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have written a number of volumes, about 10 or 12, I suppose, dealing with social issues, with race relations, with education and the South.

(Representative Velde leaves.)

Mr. STOKES. Touching a bit more on the academic field, have you not served as a delegate to educational conferences in this country and abroad? Will you tell us something about that, please?

Dr. JOHNSON. I have served as United States delegate to the first conference of UNESCO in Paris, and to the second conference in Mexico City; as member of the President's Board on Foreign Scholarships under the Fulbright Act; as a member of an International Commission, under the old League of Nations, to Liberia.

I worked with the Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, and served on committees with some of those Departments, including the Department of Justice and the Department of Commerce.

Mr. STOKES. Are you a veteran?

Dr. JOHNSON. Yes. Not of this last war. I was a regimental sergeant-major, Eight hundred third Pioneer Infantry, in the First World War, and saw action in the Meuse Argonne offensive.

Mr. STOKES. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. JOHNSON. I am not now and never have been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STOKES. Do you have a prepared statement?

Dr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. STOKES. Please proceed with your prepared statement.

Dr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I have been asked by this committee to state my views, as an educator, regarding the loyalty of American Negroes. It would, of course, be presumptuous of me to attempt to speak for Negroes generally. I can only venture an opinion. Except for the fact that in these days of international tension, many Americans are seriously apprehensive about our national security, either because they know the character of the dangers, or do not know the character of these dangers, the question as to the loyalty of Negro Americans, in my opinion, would be more than unnecessary; it would be absurd. In one sense it is like asking if Tennesseans, or Presbyterians, or foreign-born citizens, or American women, or persons with freckles, are loyal. They are all basically Americans whose group identification, whatever it might be, stands in very incidental relationship to their basic loyalty and belief in themselves, as citizens.

Considering the long untarnished historical record of Negroes in times of national emergency, it is difficult to escape a feeling of disappointment that motives and actions of such clarity could be so imperfectly read.

As in any segment of the population, there will be found varieties of opinion on national issues, and various methods of expressing these views. This is, as I understand it, a freedom provided and encouraged by the form and philosophy of the Government of which Negroes, like all the rest, are a part, and under whose protection they live.

There has been, to my knowledge, no attempt, or advocacy, over the long history of this population, either through poverty of intellect or excess of passion, to subvert the principles or form of this Government.

A moment's reflection would reveal that the consistent objective of this group has been that of hastening the achievement of the American democratic ideal. In this respect they have shown not only an unshakable loyalty, but a persistent faith in the future and destiny of the Nation and all its people. They have been both willing and eager to pay the price of their citizenship.

It is, perhaps, pertinent to say that my observations have not been casual and superficial. For the past 25 years, as a sociologist, a considerable part of my professional life has been devoted to social research, in the South and North, and to the teaching of Negro youth. Through this activity there has been exposure, in one way or another, to the social attitudes of no less than a hundred thousand Negro families.

It can be said categorically, that however unhappy some of the individuals may have been, in stressful and provocative situations, no hint of disloyalty has been voiced.

This is not an attitude, I hasten to say, that might be attributed to fear, for among them there were many who feared neither death nor disgrace. Where there has been resentment it has been not against the form of government, but against those who misinterpreted or sought to abuse the purpose and power of government, and vitiate its cherished freedoms.

If we examine the familiar indices of national loyalty, the efforts and ambitions of American Negroes have at times been embarrassingly excessive. In time of war they have pleaded for combat service, for the supreme hazards of military service.

The Negro press has insisted upon this opportunity. In periods of voluntary enlistment it has been necessary to curb their numbers. They have offered and risked their lives freely for their country even while bitterly resenting, at times, the conditions under which they were permitted to die in honor.

As servants, messengers, chauffeurs, as well as common soldiers and officers, they have held information useful to the enemy. If there is record of any such information being divulged for personal profit, or out of misplaced loyalty, or racial resentment, it has yet to come to my attention. In fact, where special security measures have been required it has often been Negro troops who were called upon to provide the ultimate safeguards.

I am aware of the current concern about security, which takes on a new and obsessive character, with the danger of unsuspected elements of weakness within the national structure. The discovery of such weakness, I well understand, can be an important factor in the strategy of modern warfare. It is my candid opinion that neither the new strategy in action nor the greatly increased level of education and alertness of the Negro population to national and international issues has in an important degree changed the basic position of complete loyalty to American democratic ideals or the structure of the National Government.

There are, however, two regretable circumstances that should be mentioned, even though it must certainly be already known to this committee: If there is any belief that Negro citizens hold and have been consistent in expressing, it is that inequalities among common citizens, and racial discriminations, should be removed from American life. Many of them, with no thought or interest in any other philosophy or form of government, have advocated the removal of these barriers to full citizenship, and in some instances have joined or contributed to organizations that had this as their objective. The fact that some other political doctrine is also against these same objectives, has with pathetic anomalousness tended to rob a fundamental American tenet of one of its strongest virtues.

Wanting the elimination of inequalities and racial discrimination is not wanting to subvert the Government. Rather, it would seem to be wanting to preserve our form of government from the subversion of those who would give strength and truth to assertions from unfriendly sources, whether as observation or calculated propaganda, that these inequalities and inhumanities are tolerated in America.

A second unfortunate circumstance is the fact that many short-sighted and perhaps emotionally disturbed persons, knowing the unfavorable popular meaning of the term "communism," employ it with calculated malevolence to prejudice the public against the objects of their personal hostility and aversion. I have heard some of the most sacred tenets of our democracy and of our Christian tradition referred to as being inspired by Moscow. What is really meant in these circumstances is that a particular personal prejudice cannot of its own merit, or that of any respectable argument, win its case unaided by prejudice and hysteria.

Mr. Chairman, I give this testimony as an American citizen who believes in the philosophy and future of this Nation. Further, I give this testimony as a Negro American who believes that he speaks a sentiment like that held by millions of others, that the highest achiev-

able ends and goals of living are here. These ends must still be worked for and struggled for, and in this restless seeking there is a patriotic service of the heart, deeper in its meaning and integrity than the mere uttering of slogans with the lips.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Dr. Johnson, I want you to know that I am very proud to have these statements of yours and Mr. Granger's go into the records of this committee. I think they give a new concept to all of us of the people in your group.

Any questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. STOKES. Dr. Johnson, there is a concept which has been identified with the thinking of certain segments of our population that if the Negro is as smart as he says he is, and he is being treated unjustly in many areas, as is well known, if he is not a Communist, why isn't he?

Dr. JOHNSON. Well, I would give three reasons there, just as speculation. The first is that I am not so certain that a tremendous number of people know what communism is. The second is that the Negroes are rooted in this country, in the life of this country, and they seek their fortunes and futures here; and they feel—I am speaking now, interpreting as an opinion—they feel that it is infinitely better to rest their case with the internal correction of their grievances than to fly to fates unknown, untested. The third is, I believe that Negroes, like Americans generally, are profoundly loyal to the higher purposes and future of our democratic form of government, our democratic way of life.

There are imperfections of a most serious character in the way of life. These imperfections are being corrected slowly, we feel too slowly, but there is a sense of forward movement, and there does not seem to be any form of government or projection of the future that holds more for all of the people than our own.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Any further questions?

Mr. STOKES. No further questions.

Mr. McSWEENEY. I was in combat service in the Second World War in Italy, and I found that the Fascists had tried to impregnate the minds of the younger Italians with the Fascist movement. Have you seen any evidence of anybody trying to impregnate your students with what we might call subversive concepts?

Dr. JOHNSON. I can't say I have found very much evidence of it, although there are efforts, which I approve, to make the Negro youth aware of and discontented with a level of citizenship which is not up to our best standards nationally. I can't honestly say I have observed direct operations of individuals who were bringing Communist principles, as such, to them. Our student organization I know fairly well. Individual students I know fairly well. I don't feel there is much political activity on our campus, not quite enough general political activity, and very little that I can observe that has any relationship to communism.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Before we dismiss you, Dr. Johnson, I think I ought to make an explanation to the witnesses, to the ladies and gentlemen of the press, and to the other people present, as to why my colleagues were unable to attend the hearing this morning.

May I say, members of this committee are members of other committees as well. I have the honor myself of being a member of the

Rules Committee, and that committee is having a meeting this morning. Members of this committee are on among the most important committees of the House, and they had to take today to attend meetings of other committees of which they are members and to take care of the week's work, and they are very sorry not to be here to hear this very, very important testimony.

Mr. TAVENNER, is there one more witness for the morning?

Mr. TAVENNER. Call Mr. Clark.

Mr. WOOD. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?¹

Mr. CLARK (C. B.). I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF C. B. CLARK

Mr. STOKES. Will you give your full name and address, please?

Mr. CLARK. C. B. Clark, 3631 Fairwood Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. STOKES. When and where were you born?

Mr. CLARK. July 21, 1905, Newport News, Va.

Mr. STOKES. You are here in response to an invitation by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. CLARK. I am.

Mr. STOKES. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. CLARK. I do.

Mr. STOKES. Do you mind if I ask if you are now or ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CLARK. I am not now nor have I ever been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have a prepared statement you desire to read?

Mr. CLARK. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. CLARK. There is perhaps no time in the glorious history of our great Nation when it has been so important to evaluate the contributions of the Negro to the making of this history and building of the United States than the present.

Today, when the loyalty of the Negro is in question, it would be well for you to look back over the pages of some of our written history, to delve into our national, State, and local archives, to but find that wherever white Americans have done battle to establish and perpetuate freedom and democracy, he has been aided, abetted and sometimes led by his black brother.

The American Negro holds it as his inalienable right to defend or fight for his country, for he and his ancestors have purchased a far greater share of it with their blood than many of the bigots who would deny them full participation in the fruits of their sacrifices.

To believe or even think that the Negro will not fight against any enemy of his country is asinine.

I have been informed that the reason for my invitation here is due to the unique record of my family, in that a search of the records indicates that one or more of my male ancestors has fought in every war since the Revolution. There is, however, nothing unique in this

¹ Testimony of Manning Johnson, immediately following that of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, is printed separately under same title, part 2. Morning session recessed at 12:55 a. m., reconvened at 2:30 p. m., Clarence B. Clark taking the witness stand at 4:05 p. m. Representative Wood came in and assumed chair at 3:46 p. m.

phase of my family history, as there are over 300 Negro families in the United States who can directly trace their lineage back to those 500 Negro soldiers who stood with General Washington in the uniform of the Continental Army at Yorktown, as he received Cornwallis' sword.

Through all of the wars, black Americans have stood shoulder to shoulder with white Americans, to repel or fight any and every enemy of the United States. From the Commons of Boston to the beach-heads of Salerno, Okinawa, Iwo Jima, and Normandy, Negro blood has flown freely and willingly in the cause of democracy, and there has never been a Benedict Arnold among them.

The Negro today is no different in the belief of his right, his duty and his privilege to defend his country than his forebears. And without fear of refutation, I say he will again fight unless prevented by the actions of bigoted fellow Americans.

Communist-inspired propaganda has recently successfully managed to smear the Negro population of the United States as potential traitors in the event of a conflict with Russia. These allegations, we can assure you, are not true. A vast majority of Negroes have no respect for Russia, no love for communism, nor belief in any foreign ideology. They know that the United States is their heritage, far more so than many whites who are citizens of it. They seek only to enjoy fully those privileges guaranteed them under the Constitution—those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—throughout the entire United States.

No doubt the emissaries of communism feel that because we fight discrimination here in the United States, that the American Negro would betray his heritage. But 99 and 99/100ths percent of us cry out that this is our own, our native land, and we will ever fight to preserve it.

In closing, the American Negro feels about the United States as a Negro corporal, addressing a group of officers at Henley Field, Tex., said:

My wife and I may squabble and fight like cats and dogs. However, the moment an outsider or neighbor interferes, we stop fighting, kick hell out of the interferer, and then go on back fighting to adjust the home.

To you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I can say, coming from Pennsylvania, the State where I live and where I have been an investigator, district attorney, and have held various other offices in my county, where I am considered to perhaps know more men of the street than any other man, that these are the opinions of those people.

When the papers in Pittsburgh published that I would be called here, for a couple days before coming my phone rang continuously. In my office my secretary, and in my home my wife, were bothered by people of the street, and from the mines, calling up and saying:

We are glad you are going. We know you will tell the committee, and we hope you will tell President Truman and whomever you will speak to, that we will fight anybody if they interfere with the United States. What we do here to adjust our own differences and rights is our own business, but as to Russia or anybody else, we would give them no help.

Mr. STOKES. From your statement I am led to believe you are a veteran; is that true?

Mr. CLARK. That is true. I am a disabled veteran. I was not drafted. I lowered my age and submitted myself to voluntary induction.

Mr. STOKES. You lowered your age and submitted yourself to voluntary induction?

Mr. CLARK. That is right. Prior to submitting myself to voluntary induction, I was a member of the local draft board.

Mr. STOKES. Why did you manifest that anxiety to get into the war?

Mr. CLARK. For two reasons: First of all, I feel like the average Negro that this is my country. I will fight to preserve it. Secondly, I wanted to keep unbroken the record established by my family.

Mr. STOKES. Would you care to tell us the record established by your family? I presume it is in a military way?

Mr. CLARK. Yes. I can give you a brief history.

The establisher of our family line was a slave known only as Jonas. He was probably born in or around Monticello, Va., in that he was a hostler and servant to George Rodgers Clark. In this capacity, I have been informed, he accompanied his master on most of the expeditions and served with him throughout the Revolutionary War. In the year 1780 he was granted his freedom, and all the issues of his body thereafter were declared to be free. This freedom was granted him because of his services; and Jonas, having taken the last name of his former master and companion, moved to what is now Alexandria, Va., where the family resided as freedmen for several generations, until around 1877.

One of Jonas' sons, Richard, married Eliza Boykin of Boston, Mass. Eliza Boykin was a niece of Peter Salem of Bunker Hill fame. Richard Clark, along with his brother-in-law, Charles Boykin, served through the war of 1812.

I have a great uncle, George Clark, who served in the Mexican War.

David Clark, a great uncle on my father's side, served in the Civil War.

Norris Clark, who is my immediate grandfather on my father's side, served during the Civil War.

And I even have a relative who served in the Confederate Army, George Washington Thomas, who was the son of his master and a slave, and accompanied his father to the Civil War and served on the Confederate side, and I believe later was granted a pension.

Richard Clark, an uncle, served in the Spanish-American War.

In World War I, my brother, H. T. Clark, who resides in Newport News, Va., served in the merchant marine, carrying horses, and so forth, to Europe. And my brother-in-law, W. H. Reeves, died as a result of that war.

Of course I served in World War II.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Clark, I have purposely held this question in abeyance until the last: Will you tell us your occupation, please?

Mr. CLARK. At present I am on leave from my position as deputy registrar of the Registration Commission of Allegheny County, undergoing treatment at Walter Reed Hospital.

I am also a free-lance writer, making contributions to various newspapers, and have been appointed as special investigator for the registration commission of election frauds.

Mr. STOKES. Were you injured in the last war?

Mr. CLARK. I was.

Mr. STOKES. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Coming as I do from a section of Georgia where there is almost an equality, numerically, between the Negro race and the white race, and having had the privilege of association with the Negro race all of my life, and being proud of the fact I am from the only State I know of where, in one county, everyone of age, black and white, volunteered for service in the last war, I would like you to carry back to your people that there never was any doubt on the part of this committee as to the patriotism of your race. You were asked to come here solely for the purpose of adding your voice to that of others to repudiate various utterances of certain individuals regarding the patriotism of the Negro race.

Mr. CLARK. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Any other witnesses?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, it might expedite matters to call this other witness on Monday.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

The committee will stand adjourned until 10:30 Monday morning. (Thereupon, at 4:50 p. m. Thursday, July 14, 1949, an adjournment was taken until 10:30 a. m., Monday, July 18, 1949.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

MONDAY, JULY 18, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Burr P. Harrison presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, and Francis Case.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. HARRISON. The committee will come to order.

I regret that because of illness the chairman, Mr. Wood, will not be present this morning. He has designated a subcommittee composed of Mr. McSweeney, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Case, and Mr. Harrison to conduct this hearing, and has asked me to act as chairman of that subcommittee.

I ask the witness to please stand.

You solemnly swear the evidence you are about to give to this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROBINSON. I do.

Mr. HARRISON. Take a seat.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF JACK ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Robinson, will you state your full name?

Mr. ROBINSON. Jack Roosevelt Robinson.

Mr. STOKES. When and where were you born?

Mr. ROBINSON. Cairo, Ga., 1919.

Mr. STOKES. Have you a prepared statement?

Mr. ROBINSON. I have.

Mr. STOKES. You may proceed.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. Chairman, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities invited me to appear here today and express myself on the subject of your present interest, I answered that I would be glad to do so, although it isn't exactly pleasant to get involved in a

political dispute when my field of earning a living is as far removed from politics as anybody can possibly imagine.

I am sure you know that I am a professional ball player. Baseball has been called the great American sport because all Americans get their kicks out of the game in some way or other, no matter what their political or social connections may be. So it's customary, and I suppose pretty sensible, for ball players to keep out of partisan politics or any other kind of arguments and contests that may split their supporting public.

Of course it will be said, and it's certainly true, that the question of Communist activity in the United States isn't partisan politics. But it's also true that some of the policies of this committee have become political issues. And so, naturally, I have had a great many messages come to me, by wire, phone, and letter, urging me not to show up at this hearing. And I ought to make it plain that not all of this urging came from Communist sympathizers. Of course, most of it did. But some came from people for whom I have a lot of respect and who are just as opposed to Communist methods as I am.

And so it isn't very pleasant for me to find myself in the middle of a public argument that has nothing to do with the standing of the Brooklyn Dodgers in the pennant race—or even the pay raise I am going to ask Mr. Branch Rickey for next year!

So you'll naturally ask, why did I stick my neck out by agreeing to be present, and why did I stand by my agreement in spite of advice to the contrary. It isn't easy to find the answer, but I guess it boils down to a sense of responsibility. I don't pretend to be any expert on communism or any other kind of a political "ism."

Going to college at UCLA, helping to fight a war, with about 10,000,000 other fellows, trying to break into professional baseball and then trying to make good with the Dodgers, and trying to save some money for the time when my legs lose their spring—all this, together with my family life, has been enough to keep me busy without becoming an "expert"—except on base stealing or something like that.

But you can put me down as an expert on being a colored American, with 30 years of experience at it. And just like any other colored person with sense enough to look around him and understand what he sees, I know that life in these United States can be mighty tough for people who are a little different from the majority—in their skin color, or the way they worship their God, or the way they spell their names.

I'm not fooled because I've had a chance open to very few Negro Americans. It's true that I've been the laboratory specimen in a great change in organized baseball. I'm proud that I've made good on my assignment to the point where other colored players will find it easier to enter the game and go to the top. But I'm very well aware that even this limited job isn't finished yet. There are only three major league clubs with only seven colored players signed up, out of close to 400 major league players on 16 clubs.

But a start has been made, and progress goes on, and southern fans as well as northern fans are showing that they like the way things are working. And as long as the fans approve, we're going to keep on making progress, until we go the rest of the way in wiping Jim Crow out of American sports.

We are doing this because the American fans are just beginning to understand that a sport, to be a real sport, has got to be contested on

the basis of the best man or team winning—and that “best” has got nothing to do with how much brown or red or yellow tint is in a man’s skin.

We’re going to make progress in other American fields besides baseball if we can get rid of some of the misunderstanding and confusion that the public still suffers from. I know I have a great desire and I think that I have some responsibility for helping to clear up that confusion. As I see it there has been a terrific lot of misunderstanding on this subject of communism among the Negroes in this country, and it’s bound to hurt my people’s cause unless it is cleared up.

The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single Negro who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race, and he is going to use every bit of intelligence such as he has to stop it. This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do. And white people must realize that the more a Negro hates communism because it opposes democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country—and that goes for racial discrimination in the Army, and segregation on trains and buses, and job discrimination because of religious beliefs or color or place of birth.

And one other thing the American public ought to understand, if we are to make progress in this matter: The fact that it is a Communist who denounces injustice in the courts, police brutality, and lynching when it happens doesn’t change the truth of his charges. Just because Communists kick up a big fuss over racial discrimination when it suits their purposes, a lot of people try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination.

But they are not fooling anyone with this kind of pretense, and talk about “Communists stirring up Negroes to protest,” only makes present misunderstanding worse than ever. Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist Party, and they’ll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared—unless Jim Crow has disappeared by then as well.

I’ve been asked to express my views on Paul Robeson’s statement in Paris to the effect that American Negroes would refuse to fight in any war against Russia because we love Russia so much. I haven’t any comment to make on that statement except that if Mr. Robeson actually made it, it sounds very silly to me. But he has a right to his personal views, and if he wants to sound silly when he expresses them in public, that is his business and not mine. He’s still a famous ex-athlete and a great singer and actor.

I understand that there are some few Negroes who are members of the Communist Party, and in the event of war with Russia they’d probably act just as any other Communist would. So would members of other minority and majority groups. There are some colored pacifists, and they’d act just like pacifists of any color. And most Negroes—and Italians and Irish and Jews and Swedes and Slavs and other Americans—would act just as all these groups did in the last war. They’d do their best to keep their country out of war; if successful, they’d do their best to help their country win the war—against Russia or any other enemy that threatened us.

This isn’t said as any defense of the Negro’s loyalty, because any loyalty that needs defense can’t amount to much in the long run.

And no one has ever questioned my race's loyalty except a few people who don't amount to very much.

What I'm trying to get across is that the American public is off on the wrong foot when it begins to think of radicalism in terms of any special minority group. It is thinking of this sort that gets people scared because one Negro, speaking to a Communist group in Paris, threatens an organized boycott by 15,000,000 members of his race.

I can't speak for any 15,000,000 people any more than any other one person can, but I know that I've got too much invested for my wife and child and myself in the future of this country, and I and other Americans of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare, for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass. I am a religious man. Therefore I cherish America where I am free to worship as I please, a privilege which some countries do not give. And I suspect that 999 out of almost any thousand colored Americans you meet will tell you the same thing.

But that doesn't mean that we're going to stop fighting race discrimination in this country until we've got it licked. It means that we're going to fight it all the harder because our stake in the future is so big. We can win our fight without the Communists and we don't want their help.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Counsel, any questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. There are no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, I merely want to commend this fine young American for coming here and giving us this forthright statement, which I think he owes, in reality, to his people, but he has done it very liberally and I am very glad to have him here to give this very fine testimony today.

Mr. MOULDER. I join in what Mr. McSweeney has said in complimenting you on the splendid statement you have made. I will add, it is not the purpose of this committee, in conducting these hearings, to question the loyalty of the Negro race. There is no question about that. It is to give an opportunity to you and others to combat the idea Paul Robeson has given by his statements. I think you have rendered a great service to your country and to your people, and we are proud of you and congratulate you upon being the great success that you are in this great country of ours.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Robinson, you have made a splendid statement here. I was interested in your reference to the fact that you were one of the several million boys who were fighting for this country during the war. Were you in the Army, or Air Force, or what branch of the armed services?

Mr. ROBINSON. I was in the Army.

Mr. CASE. How long were you in the Army?

Mr. ROBINSON. Thirty-one months.

Mr. CASE. Thirty-one months?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Did you serve some of that time overseas?

Mr. ROBINSON. No, I didn't have a chance to go overseas because of an injury I received. I served as morale officer at Fort Riley and Camp Wolters, Tex.

Mr. CASE. Did you find any program there, among boys of your race, that would indicate any kind of basis for the statement purported to have been made by Paul Robeson?

Mr. ROBINSON. All I found was that the boys wanted to go over and fight and get the war over with so they could get back to their families. That is the only thing I found. I have had wires from some of the boys thanking me for expressing their views and saying what I did about their going over and fighting for these United States.

Mr. MOULDER. And you would do so again and again?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes, I would, very willingly.

Mr. CASE. You attended the University of California in Los Angeles?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Where did you take your grade- and high-school work?

Mr. ROBINSON. Pasadena, a suburb—I was going to say a suburb of Los Angeles, but I guess Los Angeles is a suburb of Pasadena.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Nixon doesn't happen to be here this morning, so I think you can talk about California safely.

In your school life, did you ever note any attitude on the part of members of your race that would give any support to the alleged statement by Mr. Robeson?

Mr. ROBINSON. I have never run across it any time. In my life I have never run across anybody of my race who would not fight for these United States because of his love for any other country. They would all fight for these United States to protect any rights they have.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Have you ever been approached yourself to join any of these subversive organizations?

Mr. ROBINSON. I never was approached, but when I was a kid we were interested in the way they acted to get us to join. In Pasadena there used to be group out there of Communists. I don't know how strong they were. But they used to send out young ladies to see if we would join their organization. It was quite funny to us. We had enough sense to know what they were after, and none of the fellows in my group had any desire to join an organization like that.

Mr. HARRISON. Any other question?

(No response.)

Mr. HARRISON. The committee appreciates your position, and on behalf of the committee I thank you for your appearance here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the committee has received quite a few letters showing an extreme interest in this question, and I will ask the senior investigator, Mr. Russell, if those letters are in shape where they can be introduced in evidence now, or whether he will present them later.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will present them later.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. HARRISON. Thank you.

The committee stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 11:10 a. m. the meeting adjourned.)

APPENDIX

EXHIBITS INTRODUCED INTO THE RECORD DURING TESTIMONY OF ALVIN W. STOKES AND RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ, AND RETAINED IN THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Stokes:

- Exhibit No. 1—Record of Committee on Un-American Activities relating to Paul Robeson.
- Exhibit No. 2—Statements allegedly made by Paul Robeson upon various occasions.
- Exhibit No. 3—Statements made by persons in repudiation of statements allegedly made by Paul Robeson.

Schultz:

- Exhibit No. 1—Daily Worker, August 3, 1948, "Cops Disrupt Mount Vernon Wallace Rally."
- Exhibit No. 2—Daily Worker, August 2, 1948, pages 1 and 11, "Drunken Cop Shoots Two Negro War Vets."
- Exhibit No. 3—"To Secure Jewish Rights—The Communist Position," 40-page pamphlet by Alexander Bittelman.
- Exhibit No. 4—Morning Freiheit, July 3, 1948, "Nuremberg in Washington."
- Exhibit No. 5—Morning Freiheit, June 17, 1948, editorial, "American Airplanes Against Jewish Immigrants."
- Exhibit No. 6—Morning Freiheit, June 10, 1948, "America, America, Ha! Ha!"
- Exhibit No. 7—Morning Freiheit, December 16, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 8—Morning Freiheit, June 22, 1949, "They Are Looking for the Attackers of Walter Reuther, but They Arrest Only Negroes and Jews."
- Exhibit No. 9—New York Day, July 1, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 10—Daily Worker, August 2, 1948, editorial, "Another Spy Frame-Up."
- Exhibit No. 11—Detroit Jewish Chronicle, March 11, 1949.
- Exhibit No. 12—Jewish Review, Paterson Post, July 22, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 13—Jewish Review, Paterson Post, August 26, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 14—Morning Freiheit, July 13, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 15—Daily Worker, June 8, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 16—Folder, Henry Wallace's "Greater New York Conference on Jewish Affairs," September 26, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 17—The Jewish Citizen, October 1948.
- Exhibit No. 18—Daily Worker, November 10, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 19—Los Angeles Voice, May 7, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 19a—Los Angeles Voice, May 14, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 20—Los Angeles Voice, May 28, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 21—Morning Freiheit, November 11, 1948, page 3.
- Exhibit No. 22—Photostat of Los Angeles Jewish Voice, September 10, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 23—Pravda, March 5, 1949.
- Exhibit No. 24—Morning Freiheit, two cartoons, September 4, 1929, and September 19, 1929.
- Exhibit No. 25—The Day, New York, March 3, 1949.
- Exhibit No. 26—Detroit Jewish Chronicle, June 18, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 27—Morning Freiheit, July 20, 1948.

STOKES EXHIBIT No. 1

PAUL ROBESON

The records, files, and publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities reveal the following information concerning Paul Robeson:

Soviet Russia Today, August 1936, page 13, published an article on Paul Robeson and how he feels about the Soviet Union. Paul Robeson stated that, "the

Soviet Union is the only country I've ever been in, where I've felt completely at ease. I've lived in England and America and I've almost circled the globe—but for myself, wife, and son, the Soviet Union is our future home. For a while, however, I wouldn't feel right going there to live. By singing its praises wherever I go, I think I can be of the most value to it. It's too easy to go to the Soviet Union, breathe the free air, and live 'happily ever afterward.'" During a visit to Moscow he took occasion to visit a number of Soviet workers' homes. One of them he visited was that of his brother-in-law, John Goode, employed in Moscow as a mechanic and bus driver. Robeson said that "he lives in a comfortable airy apartment, plenty of sunlight, surrounded by a number of other workers who had places of the same sort. I don't say everything's perfect, but they're building, improving all the time." In the *Daily Worker* of October 11, 1946, page 11, it states that when Robeson was questioned relative to his visits to the Soviet Union and the schooling his son got there, he said "My son had what I would call a very basic Soviet education." In answer to the question as to whether he was a Communist, he replied "I characterize myself as an anti-Fascist." However, he said he wasn't a member though he would choose it over the Republicans, explaining that "in my association with Communists throughout the world, I have found them to be the first people to die, the first to sacrifice, and the first to understand fascism."

In several different instances Paul Robeson defended the Communist Party. In the July 23, 1940, *Daily Worker*, page 1, he signed an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting against the attack on the right of the Communist Party to use the ballot. In the September 23, 1940, *Daily Worker*, page 4, he signed a statement urging ballot rights to Communists. The Communist Party of New York, N. Y., wrote a statement to the President, which defended the Communist Party, and it was signed by Paul Robeson and others. (*Daily Worker*, March 5, 1941, p. 2.) The *Daily Worker* of April 22, 1947, page 5, named Paul Robeson among the 100 Negro leaders who called upon President Truman and Congress "to repudiate decisively the Fascist-like proposal to legalize the Communist Party." According to the *Daily Worker* of April 21, 1947, page 1, when asked if he was a Communist, Robeson replied that "there are only two groups in the world today—Fascists and anti-Fascists. The Communists belong to the anti-Fascist group and I label myself an anti-Fascist. The Communist Party is a legal one like the Republican or Democratic Party and I could belong to either. I could just as well think of joining the Communist Party as any other."

Paul Robeson defended the Communists and Communist candidates many times. He filed a Supreme Court brief in behalf of 12 Communist leaders and his photo appeared in the *Daily Worker* on January 9, 1949, page 3, in this connection. When some of the Communist Party leaders were arrested in 1948, Paul Robeson sponsored a Statement by Negro Americans in behalf of these people. (*Daily Worker*, August 29, 1948, p. 11; *Daily Worker*, August 23, 1948, p. 3.) The *Daily Worker* of September 16, 1940, page 1, named Paul Robeson as one of those who signed a statement by Negro leaders protesting attacks against Communist candidates. A meeting was held in Madison Square Garden on March 17, 1941, honoring William Z. Foster, the national chairman of the Communist Party, on his sixtieth birthday. Paul Robeson sang at this event. (*Daily Worker*, March 19, 1941, p. 5.) Paul Robeson was chairman of the Committee for the Reelection of Benjamin J. Davis, a Communist Party candidate. (*Daily Worker*, September 25, 1945, p. 12.) An advertisement in the *Washington Post* of November 4, 1946, named Robeson as a member of the Citizens Committee for Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis, who were Communist Party candidates. The *Daily Worker* also shows that Paul Robeson spoke at a dinner held in honor of Ben Davis. (October 20, 1947, issue, p. 7.) Paul Robeson was a supporter of the defense of Gerhart Eisler and Leon Josephson, Communists. (*Daily Worker*, April 28, 1947, p. 4.)

An article which appeared in *Newsweek* of June 2, 1947, and was reprinted in the *Congressional Record* on May 28, 1947, page A2681, reported that Paul Robeson "makes no secret of his sympathy for the [Communist] party."

Paul Robeson was a speaker at the meeting of the First National Encampment of Communist Veterans of World War II, which was to meet in Washington, D. C., on May 8, 1947, as shown by the *Daily Worker* of April 30, 1947, page 12. On page 3 of the *Daily Worker*, May 8, 1947, Paul Robeson was named as an honored guest at the veterans' encampment.

According to the pamphlet, *What Is APM?*, page 12, Paul Robeson was a member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization. He was vice chairman of this organization, as shown in the *Daily Worker* of September 3,

1940, page 4. Paul Robeson spoke at the mass meeting of the American Peace Mobilization in Washington, D. C., September 13, 1940. (Daily Worker, September 13, 1940, p. 4; Daily Worker, September 15, 1940, p. 2.)

The American Peace Mobilization was cited as "one of the most seditious organizations which ever operated in the United States" and as an "instrument of the Communist Party line prior to Hitler's attack on Russia" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, page 5; also cited in reports, June 25, 1942, page 13; and January 2, 1943, pages 8 and 9. Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the organization as "formed in the summer of 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a front organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany. * * * The most conspicuous activity of American Peace Mobilization was the picketing of the White House, which began in April 1941, in protest against lend-lease and the entire national defense program. * * * on the afternoon of June 21, 1941, he (Frederick V. Field, national secretary) suddenly called off the picket line around the White House." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the American Peace Mobilization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson was chairman of the Council on African Affairs according to the following sources: A letterhead dated May 17, 1945; leaflet, What of Africa's Peace in Tomorrow's World?; Pamphlet, Africa in the War; leaflet, The Job To Be Done; pamphlet, Seeing is Believing—Here is the Truth About South Africa, 1947; Daily Worker, March 29, 1948, page 7. Paul Robeson spoke at a rally of the Council on African Affairs in New York on April 25, 1947, as shown by a leaflet of this group. In the Daily Worker of April 19, 1947, page 12, he was condemned by the Peoria City Council as "an avowed or active propagandist for un-American ideology."

The Council on African Affairs was cited as "subversive" and "Communist" by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Letterheads of the Civil Rights Congress dated March 4, 1948, and May 7, 1948, named Paul Robeson as vice chairman of this group. The Daily Worker of January 18, 1949, page 11, listed him as vice chairman and speaker before the group.

The Daily Worker of October 21, 1947, page 5, showed that Paul Robeson signed the call for the national conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago. Paul Robeson and Eugene Dennis, a Communist Party member, spoke at a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. (Daily Worker, November 5, 1947, p. 5.) He also spoke at the national conference of this group when it met in Chicago, according to the Daily Worker of November 19, 1947, page 6. The Daily Worker of January 29, 1948, page 10, named him as a speaker at the rally of the garment division of the Civil Rights Congress. Paul Robeson sponsored the freedom crusade of the Civil Rights Congress and protested the indictment of 12 Communist leaders. (Daily Worker, December 31, 1948, p. 3.) As shown by the Daily Worker of November 4, 1947, page 16, Paul Robeson supported the Civil Rights Congress. He was also a member of the delegation of the Civil Rights Congress. (Daily Worker, December 20, 1948, p. 4.)

The Civil Rights Congress was cited by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated September 2, 1947, pages 2 and 19, as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it." Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

A letterhead of January 18, 1939, named Paul Robeson as a member of the executive committee of the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The China Aid Council was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated June 25, 1942, as a subsidiary of the American League for Peace and Democracy, page 16.

The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "the largest of the Communist front movements in the United States * * * formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and, at the time of its inception, as the United States Congress Against War * * * The league contends publicly that it is not a Communist-front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president." "An examination of the program of the American League will show that the organization was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason." (Reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69-71, and March 29, 1944, p. 37; also cited in reports, January 3, 1940, p. 10; January 3, 1941, p. 21; June 25, 1942, pp. 14-16; and January 2, 1943, p. 8.) Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the organization as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." "The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson entertained at the Chicago Peace Mobilization of the Emergency Peace Mobilization as shown by the Daily Worker of August 13, 1940, page 5. He was a singer at the Anti-Conscription Rally and Chicago Peace Rally, affiliates of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, which met in Chicago on August 31, 1940, and September 1, 1940. (Leaflet, Defend America Now; Daily Worker, August 31, 1940, p. 1.) The Daily Worker of September 3, 1940, page 1 named Paul Robeson as vice chairman of the Emergency Peace Mobilization to lead delegates to the White House.

The Emergency Peace Mobilization was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944, pages 105, 156, and 169, as a Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other American warmongering efforts. It immediately preceded the American Peace Mobilization in 1940. "The American Peace Mobilization * * * was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization." (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.)

A 1947 catalog of the winter term for George Washington Carver School listed Paul Robeson as a member of the board of directors. The George Washington Carver School was cited as an adjunct in New York City of the Communist Party by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board, December 4, 1947.

A letterhead under date of February 28, 1946, named Paul Robeson as a national sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The Daily Worker of December 3, 1948, page 12, listed him as a performer at a meeting of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as a "Communist-front organization headed by Edward K. Barsky" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944, page 174. Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson was a national sponsor and a sponsor of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to letterheads of July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939, respectively.

"In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 20, 1944, p. 82.)

The Daily Worker of April 19, 1947, page 4, named Paul Robeson as one of the sponsors of the May Day Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. He was a member of the same committee for the May Day Parade. (Daily Worker, April 23, 1947, p. 3.) The Daily Worker of April 18, 1947, page 4, listed Paul Robeson as a proposed speaker for the May Day parade. Paul Robeson was one of the marshalls for the United May Day Parade. (The Worker, April 27, 1947, p. 2.)

"The May Day Parade in New York City is an annual mobilization of Communist strength." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 179.)

A Call to a Win the Peace Conference held in the National Press Building, Washington, D. C., on April 5 to 7, 1946, named Paul Robeson as one of the sponsors of the group (also Daily Worker, March 5, 1946). A summary of the proceedings of this conference showed that Paul Robeson was elected cochairman, with Col. Evans F. Carlson, of the National Committee to Win the Peace. On June 13, 1946, Paul Robeson spoke at the Win the Peace Rally to Stop World War III, sponsored by the National Committee to Win the Peace, as shown by a handbill of the rally. According to a letterhead of February 28, 1946, and the Daily Worker of May 9, 1946, page 3, Paul Robeson was a sponsor and cochairman, respectively, of the Win the Peace Conference. He was the cochairman of the New York Committee to Win the Peace. (Letterhead dated June 1, 1946; New York Committee Call to Win the Peace Conference, June 28 and 29, 1946.) Paul Robeson sponsored the Conference on China and the Far East (called by the National Committee to Win the Peace; and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy) which was held in San Francisco. (Call to Conference, dated October 18-20, 1946.)

The National Committee to Win the Peace was cited as "subversive" and "Communist" by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy was cited as "subversive" and "Communist" by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, April 27, 1949.

According to a pamphlet, For a New Africa (proceedings, Conference on Africa, New York, April 14, 1944) Paul Robeson was chairman of the National Negro Congress. He was also a participant in the Cultural Conference of the National Negro Congress. (Daily Worker, March 14, 1947, p. 11.)

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * * The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180.) A. Phillip Randolph, president of the congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 "on the grounds that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and the Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.'"

"Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and 'fellow travelers' have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the congress * * * according to A. Philip Randolph. John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support.

"From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party." (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.)

Attorney General Tom Clark cited the National Negro Congress as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

An undated leaflet of the South is Closer Than You Think (received about February 1947) listed Paul Robeson as a member of the executive board of the New York committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Paul Robeson was one of the narrators in the attack by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on the Freedom Train. (News release, November 15, 1947.)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate, was cited as a Communist-front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 30, 1944, page 147. The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks

to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." (H. Rept. No. 592, June 12, 1947.)

Paul Robeson was a patron of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship as shown by a letterhead of October 27, 1942. He was a speaker and entertainer of this group at a meeting in New York City, November 6 to 8, 1943. (Pamphlet, U. S. A.—U. S. S. R., p. 31.) According to a letterhead and memorandum (dated March 13, 1946; March 18, 1946, respectively) Paul Robeson was a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. A printed advertisement announcing a rally for peace appeared in the Daily Worker of December 1, 1948, page 6. Paul Robeson was on the program, which was held at Madison Square Garden on December 13, 1948, and was arranged under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. On Sunday, March 30, 1941, Paul Robeson sang in pageant The Negro in American Life which program was sponsored by the National Negro Congress and the International Workers Order. Paul Robeson spoke at the seventh annual convention rally of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Workers Order held at Madison Square Garden on June 15, 1947. (Daily Worker, June 8, 1947, p. 12.) According to the Worker of June 29, 1947, page 5m, he was a member of the IWO.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian" as shown by its report dated March 29, 1944, p. 156. Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

The International Workers Order was cited as "one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist-front movements" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Repts., January 3, 1939, p. 79; March 29, 1944, p. 181; also cited in Repts. of January 3, 1940, p. 9; and June 25, 1942, p. 19). Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the International Workers Order as "one of the strongest Communist organizations" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

The New Masses of March 14, 1944, page 2, and April 30, 1946, page 2, named Paul Robeson as a contributing editor to this periodical. He signed a letter to the President, which was written under the auspices of New Masses, April 2, 1940, page 21. The Daily Worker of October 10, 1944, page 6, named Paul Robeson as an endorser of New Masses. On January 14, 1946, Paul Robeson was honored at a New Masses dinner held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City for the purpose of giving awards to those who contributed to greater interracial understanding. (Daily Worker, January 7, 1946, p. 11.) At the New Masses second annual awards dinner Paul Robeson received an award for his contribution made to promote democracy and inter-racial unity. (New Masses, November 18, 1947, p. 7.)

New Masses was cited as a "Communist periodical" by Attorney General Francis Biddle (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited New Masses as the "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" in Report 1311, dated March 29, 1944. The publication had previously been cited in reports of the committee dated January 3, 1939, and June 25, 1942.

Beginning in March 1948, New Masses and the Marxist quarterly known as Mainstream were consolidated into a publication known as Masses and Mainstream, located at 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. In the March 1948 issue, volume 1, No. 1, of Masses and Mainstream, Paul Robeson was listed as a contributing editor. The Daily Worker of April 29, 1948, page 6, shows that Paul Robeson was one of those who sponsored the meeting on Culture Against the Warmakers, which was held under the auspices of Masses and Mainstream. Paul Robeson was a participant in the Masses-Mainstream demonstration against the Mundt anti-Communist bill. (Daily Worker, May 25, 1948, p. 13.)

Paul Robeson was a participant in Mother Bloor's eighty-fifth birthday banquet. (Daily Worker, June 12, 1947, p. 11.) Ella Reeve Bloor is an ardent Communist member and worker.

Paul Robeson spoke at the fourth anniversary dinner of the Jefferson School of Social Science, according to the Daily Worker of February 6, 1948, page 7.

He also participated in a music for children program sponsored by this group. (Daily Worker, May 13, 1948, p. 7.)

"At the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers' School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science" (Rept. 1311, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944). The Jefferson School of Social Science has been cited as an "adjunct of the Communist Party" by Attorney General Tom Clark in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947.

Paul Robeson visited and entertained the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain, as shown in the Daily Worker, issues of January 24, 1938, page 4, and April 6, 1938, page 2.

"The Communist Party was active in recruiting American boys for the so-called Abraham Lincoln Brigade in behalf of Loyalist Spain. Browder has boasted that 60 percent of the brigade was composed of Communist Party members" (Rept. 1311, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944). The Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been cited as a Communist organization by Attorney General Tom Clark in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, April 27, 1949.

Paul Robeson sang for a benefit called Six Songs for Democracy, which was sponsored by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 17, 1940. He spoke at a convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and was awarded the Dombrowski Medal. (Volunteer for Liberty, November 1946, p. 7.) Paul Robeson also participated in the program sponsored under the joint auspices of Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Coordinating Committee for Spanish Republic. (Daily Worker, November 28, 1947, p. 7.)

"In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Rept., March 29, 1944, p. 82.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson spoke at a meeting of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America as shown by the Daily Worker of May 31, 1947, (p. 12). United Negro and Allied Veterans of America was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947.

Paul Robeson spoke at a meeting held in Washington, D. C., which was sponsored by the Washington Peace Mobilization on September 13, 1940. (See Handbill, Paul Robeson will welcome America's real fighters for peace and freedom.) The Washington Peace Mobilization was cited as a Communist-controlled organization which participated in the White House picket line. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Rept., March 29, 1944, p. 143.)

On June 14, 1946 Paul Robeson spoke at the Youth Rally to Defend Labor's Right to Strike. This meeting was sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy and held at the Manhattan Center in New York City. (See Handbill). The Daily Worker of April 28, 1947, p. 4, named Paul Robeson as a supporter of this same group. Paul Robeson performed at a meeting of the American Youth for Democracy according to the Daily Worker of September 25, 1947, page 11. He also was on a program of the "Call to Arms Against Universal Military Training" sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy. (Daily Worker, December 4, 1947, p. 6.)

The American Youth for Democracy was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress. (Report dated March 29, 1944, page 102.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. Its "high-sounding slogans" cover "a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American Government itself." (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Rept. No. 271, April 17, 1947.)

An advertisement in the *Daily Worker* of August 12, 1947, page 8, announced a variety concert by Paul Robeson and others to be given at Peekskill Stadium in New York on August 23, 1947, under the auspices of the Committee to Aid the Fighting South. The Committee to Aid the Fighting South was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A. by Attorney General Tom Clark in letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947.

Paul Robeson signed a statement sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties hailing the War Department order on Commissions for the Communists. (*Daily Worker*, March 18, 1945, p. 3.) He also signed a statement opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes which was sponsored by this same group. (Advertisement, *New York Times*, April 1, 1946, p. 16.)

"There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12.) Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the organization as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. * * * (It) was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. * * * The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson signed a petition of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. (Sheet attached to letterhead of January 17, 1940.)

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports dated June 25, 1942, page 13, and March 29, 1944, page 87.

Paul Robeson was one of the representative individuals of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo "on sale of arms to Spain." (Booklet, *These Americans Say*, n. 8.)

The Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo was cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish civil war by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Rept., March 29, 1944, pp. 137-138.)

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities found "Communist leadership entrenched" in these three unions with which Paul Robeson was affiliated. (Rept. No. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 13; Rept. No. 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 18). When speaking before a meeting of the National Maritime Union, Paul Robeson declared in criticism of the United States, "this is not 'The House I Live In'." (*Daily Worker*, September 30, 1947, p. 3.) He was a participant in *Fighters for Liberty*, UERMWA radio program, as shown in the *Daily Worker* of February 9, 1948, p. 13. Paul Robeson toured Hawaii under the sponsorship of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. (*Daily People's World*, April 6, 1948, p. 2.)

In a speech which he delivered at the Paris Peace Conference, Paul Robeson stated: "It is certainly unthinkable for myself and the Negro people to go to war in the interests of those who have oppressed us for generations." (*Daily Worker*, April 26, 1949, p. 4.)

In an address made by Paul Robeson at his Welcome Home Rally held in New York June 19, 1949, under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs, he made the following statement:

"Yes, I love this Soviet people more than any other nation, because of their suffering and sacrifices for us, the Negro people, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world." (*Daily Worker*, July 3, 1949, p. 6m.)

He made the following statement at the rally referred to above concerning his support of the Communists:

"* * * So I'm not afraid of Communists; no, far from that. I will defend them as they defended us, the Negro people. And I stand firm and immovable by the side of that great leader who has given his whole life to the struggle of the American working class—Bill Foster; by the side of Gene Dennis; by the side of my friend Ben Davis; Johnny Gates; Henry Winston; Gus Hall; Gil Green; Jack Stachel; Carl Winter; Irving Potash; Bob Thompson; Johnny Williamson—12 brave fighters for my freedom. Their struggle is our struggle." (Daily Worker, July 3, 1949, p. 6m.)

STOKES EXHIBIT 3

CITY OF NEW YORK,
FIRE DEPARTMENT,
July 11, 1949.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am opposed to recent statements made by one Paul Robeson, concerning the attitude of the rank and file Negro toward the United States in the event of war.

I am a Negro with a responsible position in the New York City Fire Department, as an architect. My experience has taught me that in the United States of America, any man who proves himself qualified, will succeed regardless of race, color, or creed.

The prejudices of which Mr. Paul Robeson speaks, are fast becoming extinct; they are ghosts of a past era when ignorance was rampant. Today we have a more educated, God-fearing America. Tomorrow we will reach the goal of perfection. The American Negro of worth, looks ahead; looks to make himself and his children better and more useful citizens.

I am a veteran of World War II and will gladly answer my country's call whenever I am needed.

I am ashamed of Mr. Robeson, whom America has given all the opportunities, education, wealth, and success which he now enjoys. He is America's No. 1 idler.

Respectfully yours,

J. MILTON WORMSLEY, Jamaica, N. Y.

Chairman JOHN S. WOOD,
Un-American Activities Committee,
Washington, D. C.

LOCKLAND, OHIO.

DEAR SIR: I am a basketball coach in Lockland-Wayne High School. My team last spring, played Delphes St. John for the State class B championship. All the players on my team were Negroes. My school is staffed and attended by Negroes only.

I am interested in the Paul Robeson matter. I would like to back those who say that the Negro will always be loyal to his country. I know that these boys that I have worked with for the past 12 years will fight for this country against any foe.

In our travels around to many white schools we have been treated as Americans should. Our path has not been a rosy one. The difficulties which we have encountered have made us do a better job the next time we appear.

The millions of Negroes in the country do not support Mr. Robeson. This is our home. We know no other country. We owe allegiance to no other country. No country could give the rights and benefits which our country has given to all its citizens.

In your committee deliberations please call on me if I can assist in any way. I would be very glad to testify as to the loyalty of my people.

May God bless you and the persons who are working with you.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH E. MARTIN.

P. S.—If our boys had been in any other country, they would have been denied the honor of competing for a State championship.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is poorly written and I'm sure there's no literary merit within. This is more or less a plea to let an unknown person testify at a hearing concerning the idiotic, assinine statements of a man so ungrateful to his country, Paul Robeson. I am a Negro by birth, an American by the democratic way of life. This man has made a statement that has turned the hearts and minds of thousands of people against him.

I have written many articles on the subject of democracy (enclosed is one such article).

I ask that you accept the testimony of the man on the street, the man behind the hoe, the man that made it possible for such a man to make such a rash statement concerning those that know no other country but one—and love every inch of it.

Sincerely,

J. W. LUDLOW.

[Telegram]

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., July 10, 1949.

Chairman JOHN S. WOOD,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Jackie Robinson speaks truthfully of our race will fight. Charles Wherry, advocate Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver films.

HARRY LEVETTE,
Reporter, Associated Negro Press, Los Angeles, Calif.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Chairman JOHN S. WOOD,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: Let Communists go underground. We can ferret them out. It is better this way than to have to listen to their impudence and be helpless to do anything about them.

Paul Robeson, Judith Coplon, and many others insult my citizenship every time they open their mouths. They insult our dead.

Since we are in a state of cold war with Russia, why don't we pass laws to punish our "cold enemies"?

These Communists are "cold traitors."

All proven cold traitors should therefore lose their citizenship and be exported to Russia (literally, and at their own expense).

In their places we should permit DP's to enter the United States.

These DP's are anxious to become good American citizens. They would appreciate our freedom—not to attack it—to destroy it.

A DP who has fled from communism would make a fine replacement.

I, personally, am not a Catholic, but I heartily sympathize with the fight in Europe for religious freedom.

Outlaw communism in the United States.

Punish these outlaws ("cold" or "hot.")

If we do not face this peculiar emergency and solve it, we are doomed.

I believe in freedom, righteousness, and truth. Our fathers fought for these things—they are worth fighting for. We must not lose them. (Our civilization would not be the first one destroyed by an enemy.)

First, we must fight communism by laws—laws capable of meeting a "cold war," a "cold traitor," a poor substitute for a good American.

Will you please see what you can do?

Thank you, and sincerely,

EVELYN S. ROBESON.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *July 8, 1949.*CHAIRMAN HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am an American Negro and I'm proud of it. Proud to be a citizen of the greatest and best country in the world.

There is absolutely no truth in the statement made by Mr. Robeson saying the Negroes of this country would not go to war against Russia. * * * If it came to war, and God forbid it, any country is wrong when it comes to fighting this country, and you can quote me. I'm sure every well-thinking Negro feels the same.

True, there are happenings that take place here that are not to our liking but let Robeson show me a country without fault and I'll show him a country that is unpeopled.

Is Robeson a Communist or a rabble rouser? I notice by the papers that he settled a trust fund of \$500,000 on his son. Is that a Communist gesture?

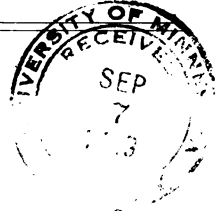
Respectfully,

ROBERT F. CLARKE, Sr.

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**HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF MINORITY GROUPS—PART 2**

(Testimony of Manning Johnson)



HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 14, 1949

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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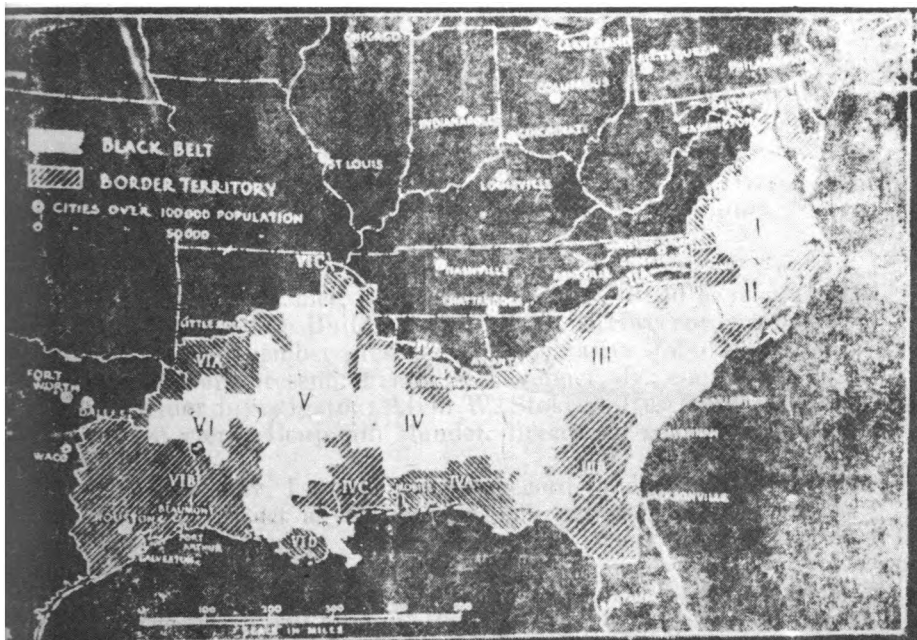
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NEW YORK, July 28.—This map was compiled by the Communist Party in the 1930's to show the area, covering 11 Southern States, in which the Communists proposed to carve out an independent Negro state with the right to secede from the Union and form a separate Negro Soviet Republic.

Used for agitation purposes among the Negroes, the program was called officially "Self-determination for the Black Belt."

Soft-pedaled for the past six years or so, it was revived recently by New York City Communist Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., a Negro, as vice president of the Communist organization. It is expected to figure in future propa-

ganda activities of the Communists, now that Earl Browder has been deposed. Tammany Hall withdrew its nomination of Davis after the map was made public by the New York World-Telegram.

The map was published in 1938 by the Communists in an official pamphlet, "Negro Liberation," by James S. Allen, one of its experts on the Negro problem.

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

MORNING SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John McSweeney, presiding.

Subcommittee member present: Representative John McSweeney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. McSWEENEY. I would like the record to show that Mr. Wood has asked me to act as chairman of the subcommittee to hear the testimony this morning. I am present and others will be present a little later.

(Preliminary remarks, the following testimony, and testimony of other witnesses, Alvin Stokes, Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, George K. Hunton, Thomas W. Young, Lester B. Granger, Dr. Charles Johnson, C. B. Clark, and Jackie Robinson are printed in another publication under title "Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 1.")

Mr. TAVENNER. I call Mr. Manning Johnson.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Mr. Johnson, you solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name and address, please?

Mr. JOHNSON. My name is Manning Johnson. I reside at 492 Convent Avenue, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee a brief outline of your education?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am a graduate of the Lovejoy Elementary School, Junior High School, and the Armstrong Technical High School in Washington, D. C. I also graduated from the Naval Air Technical School, Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your record of employment?

Mr. JOHNSON. At the present time I am international representative of the Retail Clerks' International Association, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Retail Clerks' International Association is the eighth largest union in the American Federation of Labor, with a membership of 250,000.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been associated in that work?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have been in the labor movement for 19 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. During any part of that time have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I was a member of the Communist Party for 10 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was your membership terminated?

Mr. JOHNSON. 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me some documentary evidence of your prior connection with the Communist Party, and I would like to present it to you in order to make a matter of record the positions that you held in the Communist Party.

I have here, first, a pamphlet issued in November 1933, by the central committee, Communist Party U. S. A., entitled "Party Organizer," which carries an article over your signature relating to the place that a district organizer for the Communist Party might occupy in labor unions. Will you identify that, please, as being an article written by you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; this article was written by me when I was district organizer of the Communist Party in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce it in evidence as "Exhibit Johnson 1."¹

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now have a pamphlet entitled "An American Holiday," which was for the May Day celebration in 1939, containing a list of officials including yourself, Manning Johnson, business agent, Cafeteria Workers Union, Local 302, A. F. of L. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence as "Exhibit Johnson 2."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.²

Mr. TAVENNER. I have also another pamphlet of October 1937 entitled "Second National Negro Congress," which carries the program of a meeting held at the Metropolitan Opera House, Philadelphia, Pa., and under "Trade Union Sessions" appears your name, Manning Johnson, as a delegate from the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302, A. F. of L. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. I was a delegate there.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 3."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.³

Mr. TAVENNER. The American League Against War and Fascism was cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist-front organization, I believe. I have a statement here on the

¹ See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 1.

² See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 2.

³ See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 3.

letterhead of that organization, in which your name appears as one of the members of the national executive committee. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was a Communist-front organization at that time, was it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 4."⁴

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have also a pamphlet entitled "Program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, Monday, February 12, 1940," which shows that you took part in the panel III discussion on "Labor and Democracy" as one of the delegates. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 5."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It is received.⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. I have another document which was distributed by the Stuyvesant-Bedford section, Communist Party, entitled "The Road to Liberation for the Negro people," showing an appeal made by different persons, including yourself. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 6."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I have a letter on the letterhead of People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, Called by American League Against War and Fascism, the same organization to which I referred previously, and attached to it is a list of the national executive committee members. I believe you were one of these members, were you not?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was a Communist-front organization at the time, was it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that document in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 7."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. I also have a magazine entitled "Soviet Russia Today," which carried an advertisement entitled "An urgent appeal—Defend the Soviet Union." I believe your name appears as one of those sponsoring the advertisement.

Mr. JOHNSON. May I see it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes [handing document to witness].

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I recall that now. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce it in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 8."

Mr. McSWEENEY. So ordered.⁸

Mr. TAVENNER. I have also a copy of the Daily Worker of April 29, 1938, showing the participation of certain labor unions in a May Day

¹⁻⁸ See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibits 4-8.

celebration, and giving your name as one of the members of the committee which sponsored Communist representation in that parade. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer this page of the Daily Worker in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 9."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. I have another copy of the Daily Worker of April 12, 1938, of the same general description, and under the heading "More Unions Expected" it is stated: "Manning Johnson, Negro union leader and vice president of the United May Day Committee announced" certain facts relating to the parade. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that issue in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 10."

Mr. McSWEENEY. So ordered.¹⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. I have another issue of the Daily Worker giving similar information, bearing date April 7, 1938, which shows your activity in the same manner. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that issue in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 11."

Mr. McSWEENEY. So ordered.¹¹

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me now another copy of the Daily Worker, bearing date June 22, 1937, in which there appears an article entitled "Party Leaders Honor Negro Woman Leader," and it shows as being present a number of persons, including yourself, and I also notice as present Ben Davis, Jr., of the Daily Worker staff. Will you examine that article and state whether or not you were present and took part in that meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I was present at this reception that was in recognition of 10 years of service by Maude White, who was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party at that time. At the time this affair was given I was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that issue in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 12."

Mr. McSWEENEY. So ordered.¹²

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now another issue of the Daily Worker, bearing date of February 17, 1936, which shows your participation in the Negro Congress held about the date indicated, and I will ask you to identify that and explain it.

Mr. JOHNSON. This was the first meeting of the National Negro Congress, which was held in Chicago, Ill., and to which I was a delegate. I spoke at one of the trade-union sessions of the congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that sheet in evidence as "Exhibit Johnson 13."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.¹³

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now another issue of the Daily Worker, bearing date January 21, 1936, and call your attention to an article en-

⁹⁻¹² See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibits 9-13.

titled "Communists in United States Open Drive to Aid Brother Party in Italy," and I will ask if you took part in that meeting, and to state the names of others who were associated with you in that work.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I recall this drive. That was opened by the central committee, or national committee, of the Communist Party to raise funds to aid the Communist Party in Italy. I was on the sponsoring committee and was active in raising funds, and along with me on this committee were: William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, J. W. Ford, Mother Bloor, Margaret Cowl, Gil Green, I. Amter, John Little, Max Bedacht, Ben Gold, N. Schaeffer, M. Olgin, A. Bimba, Tito Nunzie, C. Nemeroff, M. Perlow, I. Candela, Secretary D. Green, and Treasurer A. Blake.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer this issue of the Daily Worker in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 14."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.¹⁴

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Johnson, in addition to this documentary information relating to your positions in the Communist Party, what other positions have you held?

Mr. JOHNSON. I was national Negro organizer for the Trade-Union Unity League. The Trade-Union Unity League was a left-wing trade-union center in this country. It was an affiliate of the Red International of Labor Unions with headquarters at Hamburg, Germany. At the time it was headed by Losovsky.

I was also a member of the Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party. The Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party has the prime function of studying very carefully the problems of the Negroes in America and working out a program based upon the already accepted doctrines of the Communist movement. It organizes and directs movements among Negroes for the advancement of communism.

I was a member of the national trade-union commission of the national committee of the Communist Party. That commission has the major task and responsibility of directing Communist activities in the trade-unions.

At the convention of the Communist Party of United States of America in 1936, I was elected to the national committee of the Communist Party. I served throughout 1936, 1937, and 1938 as a member of that committee. During that period I attended meetings of the old Politburo of the National Communist Party.

I was also a member of the State committee of the Communist Party of New York, and was a member of the trade-union commission of the Communist Party of the State of New York.

I have held numerous other lesser positions in section and district organizations, but the positions I have named are the major and most responsible ones.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of your membership in the Communist Party, were you trained in any special way for the posts which you held?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I attended the national training school. That is a secret school conducted by the Communist Party of the United

¹⁴ See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 14.

States for the purpose of training functionaries for district leadership.

I spent 3 months in that school in New York City. The classes were held in the Communist Party headquarters on East Twelfth Street. The school lasted for 3 months. We had a very intensive and extensive course in Marxism and Leninism and the theory of world revolution, particularly in connection with our task in America, that of organizing the workers, the farmers, the intellectuals, the artists, the professionals, and the middle class elements, into various types of groups, utilizing and exploiting the grievances among them for the purpose of drawing them into the Communist world general movement.

The basic and final objective of this movement was the complete destruction of the American Government and the establishment of a soviet system of government in America. The system, of course, in America that we had planned and envisioned is a dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition from socialism to world communism.

This was based upon complete liquidation of all forces of opposition, that is, the owners of industry, the heads of government, in fact, everyone in the whole political, economic, and social life who could be identified with the capitalist class. Those professionals who would not go along with us would go to concentration camps. The most rabid would be liquidated. The banks would be confiscated; the whole capital system, from top to bottom, would be destroyed. The courts would be destroyed. The Army and Navy would be liquidated and new armed forces would be created.

That, generally, is what we were taught. We were taught the theory of revolution and the methods to be used. We were instructed to organize the workers, the farmers, and particular emphasis was placed on Negroes. We were instructed to aggravate grievances, organize strikes and rebellions, coordinating them and bringing about eventually insurrection generally.

There is one other important phase of our training I would like to deal with. We were taught that Soviet Russia is our fatherland; that we were no longer to show allegiance to America; that we had to pledge allegiance to the Soviet Government and accept it as our fatherland, and that we were sworn to defend it at all times.

In all our propaganda and agitation and work we were taught to emphasize the need of support of the Soviet Union, to popularize it among the people as the workers' government and that the American Government and other governments of the world were ganging up on Russia and seeking to destroy Russia, and that the workers should refuse to fight against Russia but on the other hand should fight against each and every attempt on the part of the American Government and the other governments to fight Russia, and to this end, if necessary, to take up arms against our Government and to use our guns against the leaders of our Government.

We were also trained in conspiratorial methods of organization. Conspiratorial methods of organization at that time were new and strange to me. It was rather difficult for me to grasp them at the time. But the foreign-born element, who have a tradition of intrigue and conspiracy in Europe, were the most able students in that class. When it comes to intrigue and conspiracy, the Negroes are ignorant, because

they have no background, but the foreign-born element can readily understand it.

These methods were taught by J. Peters. He was a representative of the Kremlin here in America. In fact, he was one of the most capable organization men, from a technical point of view, who was ever in the American party to my knowledge.

These methods included the establishment of a parallel party organization to the one that you generally use. In other words, you had an open Communist apparatus and you had an underground apparatus. So when Mr. Granger spoke of driving the Communist Party underground it was amusing, because the Communist Party already has its underground apparatus, and has had it for many years.

The Communist Party, from its national committee to its lowest unit, has an underground apparatus, or what is known as an auxiliary leadership. All these things have been taken care of. In the early 1930's those things were taught in the class, and at that time every necessary step was taken in order to strengthen and consolidate that machine.

So when we speak today of breaking up the Communist Party, you have to consider it from the point of view of their legal apparatus and their illegal or underground apparatus. We were taught Communists use both legal and illegal methods of operation, those which are within the law and those which are without the law.

We use the civil rights provisions of our basic documents as a means to an end, but not as an end in itself. The bill of rights, when it serves our purposes, we use it; when it does not serve our purposes, we denounce it. We also use the Constitution and its provisions to destroy the Constitution and its provisions. Once the Communists come to power the Constitution will be burned on the public square and the liberties and freedoms now enjoyed will be completely suppressed. Thought will be regimented. Everybody will be governed according to the dictates of the Communist Party, which will be the party in power.

Those are the things we were taught in school, and those are the things I have found through reading many books on communism and through associations with top Communists, including Gerhart Eisler.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you attend the school to which you refer?

Mr. JOHNSON. In 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you name any persons associated as instructors in that school, in addition to J. Peters?

Mr. JOHNSON. J. Peters, William Z. Foster, Jack Stachel, C. Markoff, Alexander Bittelman, Marko, Max Bedacht, Israel Amter, Rose Wertz, Gil Green, B. Amos, Harry Haywood, James Allen, Elizabeth Lawson. That is about all I can recall now.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many would be in attendance at this school at one time?

Mr. JOHNSON. We had at this school approximately 80 students. They were selected from the various districts of the Communist Party on the basis of their ability.

Mr. TAVENNER. And they were selected by whom?

Mr. JOHNSON. By the national committee of the Communist Party, upon recommendation of the leaders of the districts of the party.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Did you have to pay tuition?

Mr. JOHNSON. No. All expenses were paid by the national committee.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You had to give up work at that time?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You had no other source of income?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, except that which was provided by the Communist Party.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Did they provide you expense money while you were attending school?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. We had several apartments set aside for us at the Cooperative Colony on Allerton Avenue in the Bronx. That was the huge project built by the Communist Party and run by the Communist Party. They provided us with accommodations, and daily we were given a certain allowance to cover expenses.

Our transportation to and from New York was paid by World Tourists. Jacob Golos was the head of that. At that time they had the Martell Bus Line, which was controlled in some way by World Tourists, and we generally traveled on this bus line.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time were those schools conducted, to your knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. They were conducted at least once a year. They were constantly turning out functionaries. You see, the Communist Party has several methods of educating its members for leadership. They had district schools, special schools for professionals and intellectuals, which were ultrasecret. Some of the most prominent persons were sent to Moscow. They were sending students to the Lenin School and Far Eastern University. I do know that a number of Americans attended the Lenin School and Far Eastern University, because when I was district organizer I recommended two students for the Lenin School in Moscow, and they were accepted. I was also asked to go there. I turned it down.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Steve Nelson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was one of those selected to go to the Lenin School?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I believe so. I had nothing to do with his recommendation, though.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those selected to go to school in Moscow were chosen on what basis?

Mr. JOHNSON. They were chosen on the basis of (1) loyalty, (2) ability, and (3) potential leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean they were selected on the basis of loyalty to this country?

Mr. JOHNSON. Loyalty to Russia and to the Communist movement, not to America.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of the teachings at this school which you attended dealing with world revolution. Do you know to what extent those teachings emanated from a foreign country and how they were actually imparted to the leaders here?

Mr. JOHNSON. From 1930 until the American party, on the surface, severed from the Communist International, we received our instructions from the Communist International. Our policy in America had to conform in every twist and turn and curve and retreat with the Communist Party line set forth by the world organization

known as the "Exec" committee. We knew and understood that our duty, as far as Communists were concerned, was to follow the policies sent to us by the world organization.

After the formal severance of the American party from the Communist International, we continued to take instructions from the world organization. That was merely an action taken at that particular time to conform with certain agreements that had been made at that particular time with representatives of the Soviet Government. It was one of the conditions upon which recognition was achieved. It was understood generally in the party that that was merely a camouflage, and we understood that. We continued to take orders from Moscow, and I believe they continue to take them to this day.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did the conduct of these schools continue, for how many years?

Mr. JOHNSON. Those schools have been going on, to my knowledge, for many years. From 1930 up to 1940, the period of my knowledge, they had dozens of schools each year all over the Nation.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your vast experience in the Communist Party, did you have occasion to meet Paul Robeson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have met Paul Robeson a number of times in the headquarters of the national committee of the Communist Party, going to and coming from conferences with Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, and J. Peters. During the time I was a member of the Communist Party, Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party. Paul Robeson, to my knowledge, has been a member of the Communist Party for many years. In the Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party we were told, under threat of expulsion, never to reveal that Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party, because Paul Robeson's assignment was highly confidential and secret. For that reason he was not permitted to attend meetings of the national committee of the Communist Party, or any other than broad, general meetings.

Paul's assignment was to work among the intellectuals, the professionals, and artists that the party was seeking to penetrate and influence along Communist lines. As long as Paul Robeson's identity with the party was kept secret, so long would his work among these groups be effective and serve the best interests of the party. It was for that reason we were told never to reveal the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party.

As far as Paul Robeson's membership in the Communist Party, of that I have not one iota of doubt. Not only did we in the party hierarchy know he was a member of the party, but we generally understood he was engaged in certain secret work that was intercontinental in connection with his concert tours.

Of course Paul Robeson has, by background and his international connections, developed a complex. You recall the role he played, the role of Emperor Jones. He has delusions of grandeur. He wants to be the Black Stalin among Negroes. The Communist Party is encouraging that desire, because the Communist Party can very effectively use Robeson to further their penetration among Negroes. Because he is a popular and great artist, he can attract to him large groups of people, and at those meetings he can make subtle speeches

It is regrettable, indeed, that such a man has sold himself to Moscow. He has enjoyed many of the benefits of this country. In fact, all that he has achieved he has achieved in America, and he has sought to play the role of an exploiter of the injustices and ills of American democracy in the interest of a foreign power.

That is my opinion based on my years in the Communist movement and my association with the leaders of the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you have any personal associations, on your own part, with Paul Robeson?

MR. JOHNSON. As I said, Paul Robeson never met in the committees of the party. His contacts were with Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, William Z. Foster, and J. Peters, and he held conferences with them from time to time. That is not only true of Paul Robeson. You have many persons in high places who have the same type of arrangement.

MR. TAVENNER. You told us you had been a member of the party for about 10 years.

MR. JOHNSON. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. And that your membership was terminated in 1940. Will you tell us the circumstances of the termination of your membership and why?

MR. JOHNSON. Well, there were a number of incidents over a period of years that led to my eventual break with the party. It began in the early 1930's, on the religious issue. When I came into the Communist movement I was profoundly religious. After I was in the Communist movement a while I was told I had to abandon my religious convictions, and that to be a good Communist I had to be an atheist. Finally they agreed to accept me, and they assured me that in the course of my experience in the party I would lose my religious convictions. That was No. 1.

No. 2 was their policy in connection with the Negro problem in the South. Their problem calls for the unification of the old Cotton Belt or Black Belt of the South into a single political unit, and to establish in that area a Negro republic. That was to be accomplished by revolution and armed insurrection in that area. That is a large stretch of territory from the Eastern Shore of Maryland across 9 States and 219 counties, driving a wedge into Texas. Lands in that area were to be confiscated and an independent government set up by the Negroes there. My opposition was that it would be a segregated government; that Negroes all over the United States would be relegated to that area. We had some very sharp discussions on that issue.

No. 3 was the insincerity of the Communists in the Scottsboro case. We were constantly told by James W. Ford and others that we were not interested in saving the lives of the "damn" Scottsboro boys; that we were interested in using the Scottsboro case to penetrate Negro churches and civic organizations which we could not reach except for a cause of that kind, and in the course of the development of this campaign to raise the slogans of the Communist Party, and during our contacts with these large masses of Negroes to seek out the best elements among them and recruit them into the party.

Anybody who did not want to carry out that particular line was considered an opportunist. It was around this issue we had some sharp differences, and some very good people who had come into the

movement because of sincerity were expelled from the party. I resented that.

In addition to that, there was considerable prejudice. They were using the Negro as a figurehead. They would take a guy like James W. Ford—a fellow who couldn't pour water out of a boot with instructions on the heel—and set him up as a leader of the Negroes; a man who was absolutely divorced from all contact with the Negroes.

Mr. McSWEENEY. I am sorry to interrupt, but those bells are a call of the House. The subcommittee will recess until 2:30 this afternoon. (Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. MOULDER. The subcommittee will be in order.

The record should show that the chairman has designated me as a subcommittee to continue the proceedings.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mr. Johnson for further examination.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time of the morning recess you were answering a question as to your reasons for terminating your membership in the Communist Party, and you were in the act of telling us about certain plans that the Communists had relating to the formation of a Negro State in the South. I believe that was the point where you were when we adjourned.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed.

Mr. JOHNSON. The program of the Communist Party in relation to the Negroes in the South, particularly in the old Cotton Belt, relates to the establishment of a black republic in the South. It is in line with the policy of Lenin—

(Representative Wood enters and assumes the Chair.)

Mr. JOHNSON (continuing). The leader of the Bolshevik revolution, which sets forth the principle of self-determination for national minorities.

The Communist International, the Communist Party generally, considers the Negro people in America as a national minority, and as a national minority they are entitled to the right of self-determination; that is, the right to secede from the Government of the United States and to establish an autonomous republic in the Black Belt.

I have already outlined the geographical location of this republic, and I don't think it is necessary here to engage in any repetition.

The spearhead for the establishment of such a republic began in the early thirties through the establishment of a Sharecroppers' Union and a number of other organizations in the South. These organizations had as their policy the organization of Negro sharecroppers and agricultural workers in the South to raise specific demands for the right to seize the land; the question of smashing the plantation system of the South.

This was to be accomplished by organizing masses of Negroes in the South for action, including demonstrations, riots, and so forth, leading to armed rebellion in that area and the seizure of governmental power.

Communists generally were charged with the responsibility for arousing sentiment throughout the world in support of this program. A number of Moscow-trained organizers were sent into the South. They were to head this particular movement.

They made some headway, but not according to their expectations. There were a number of us in the hierarchy of the party who disagreed with the program, because we felt it meant a segregated State, and that in the long run it would result in all Negroes being relegated to this so-called Black Belt.

The Negroes in the hierarchy of the party who opposed this program were quietly and sternly reminded of the resolution of the Comintern and the teachings of Lenin, and politely told that was the line and that we must hew to it.

That shut off the opposition. Some continued to disagree, and as a result of this continued disagreement they were expelled from the party. At that particular time I accepted the line of the party on the Negro question, and for that reason I didn't get the ax.

James W. Ford, who had been set up as the leader of the Negroes, was considered by all of the Negroes in the party as an incompetent, a "Charlie McCarthy," because James W. Ford had no ability for leadership. He had never participated in any of the so-called mass programs of the Negroes. He didn't rise, as a result of activities of Negroes, from the ranks, and was never considered by them as a leader.

He was mechanically put into a position of responsibility by the Communist Party, and that is the type of person the Communists want, a person who will follow blindly whatever they tell him.

James W. Ford never wrote a speech to my knowledge the whole time that he was the titular head of the Negro movement in the party. Most of his speeches were written for him and he read them. Where important issues arose involving problems of the Negro, when James W. Ford was asked to take a stand or a position he never did. He would have to consult Browder or Jack Stachel or some of the white leaders, and as a result of that we characterized him as an "Uncle Tom." To us his name was synonymous with everything we despise and detest. Some of us were outspoken in our criticism of him, and as a result some of us were called in by the disciplinary commission of the Communist Party.

I shall never forget when I was called by Charles Dirba, secretary of the national disciplinary commission of the party. Incidentally, the national disciplinary commission is the American Soviet secret police agency in this country. I say that without equivocation and without the slightest hesitation. Charles Dirba was secretary of that commission, and Golos, the head of World Tourists, was chairman.

Because I had insisted that Paul Robeson be called in to assist in our fight against white chauvinism, Dirba said by making such requests I was doing irreparable harm to the Communist Party, because in the first place it was not Paul Robeson's work, and that by the promiscuous use of Paul Robeson's name it would become general knowledge that he was a member of the Communist Party, and they

could not afford to have such knowledge become general, because it would endanger much work Paul Robeson was engaged in.

I had to accept that or accept expulsion from the party.

In 1939, along came the Nazi-Soviet pact. I shall never forget that occasion. We were in the national office of the party reading over the newspaper accounts of the Nazi-Soviet pact, and discussing it among ourselves. We were shocked and mortified. We could not believe what the papers stated, and we refused to answer the statements of the press that such a pact had been entered into, because the day before we were out denouncing the Nazis, bitterly denouncing all of those who supported nazism, and beating the drums for the destruction of the Nazi power, and all of a sudden we read in the press there is a pact between the Nazi Government and the Soviet Union.

Newspaper reporters called us for a statement. We couldn't get together on a statement, because the Soviet Union had not tipped us off in advance. You can imagine the confusion that existed in the hierarchy of the party.

When word came through that it was authentic, Browder hastened to make a statement on the Nazi-Soviet pact.

I felt the pact was a betrayal of the world labor movement, the world Communist movement; that many honest liberals who had gone along with Russia before had been sold down the river; and I expressed my opinions openly and very bitterly, and the result was I was called in again by Charles Dirba and severely reprimanded.

I continued in the party for several months, trying to determine whether or not to make the break. I had been in the Communist movement since 1930. I had become thoroughly indoctrinated, and it was a difficult task for me to make a break at that time, but I realized I had to make a break because a series of incidents had so rankled me and disillusioned me I felt I had to do it then or never.

I began to drop out of meetings, until finally I made the complete break by refusing to attend any further meetings of the party.

As soon as word got around I had left the party, the party sought to assassinate my character by accusing me of being a traitor to labor, an opportunist, and a host of other things. It was during that period I realized the viciousness and the horrible evil of the Communist movement, because no one could honestly disagree with those people without being besmirched, dragged through the gutter.

Every single place I went to try to reestablish myself in the labor movement, they did everything they could within their power—and, mind you, they were powerful in the ranks of labor at that time—to prevent me from working in any labor organization.

Unfortunately, along came war. I served honorably in the Navy during the war and was able to rehabilitate myself, but these were trying years in which there were many threats of physical violence, threats I would be thrown in the gutter; people who used to applaud me when I spoke at meetings refused to speak to me. But I took all that on the chin and kept my head high, determined I was going to keep my labor connections and stay in the labor field in spite of them.

That in brief, is the story of my break with the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of the disciplinary commission. Can you name the persons who served on that commission, to your knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. Dirba and Golos were the two I had dealings with.

There were others, of course, but I never had occasion to meet with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have also spoken of persons being selected for special training in Moscow. Do you know persons who were selected for that purpose?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I selected two students for the Lenin School. When I was district organizer in Buffalo I was asked by the national committee if I wanted to go to the Lenin School, and I refused by stating that I would consider it at a later date. So they asked me to make two recommendations, and I recommended a young Russian Jewess by the name of Ethel Stevens and a young electrician by the name of Parkhill as students to the Lenin School. They did go to the Lenin School. They were there, I think a couple years. There were also Timothy Holmes, alias George Hewitt; Otto Hall; Haywood; and others whose names I cannot recall at this time, who went to the Lenin School.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the system of training used in Moscow, if you know?

Mr. JOHNSON. I know generally, but I would suggest that the committee call one of the students who was over there. He would be more competent to testify on that than I would be. You don't want generalities; you would like specific information.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you suggest the name of a student who would cooperate and testify?

Mr. JOHNSON. George Hewitt, I believe, would testify on that phase of it.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know his address?

Mr. TAVENNER. We have it.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Stokes has it. He talked to us in New York about 2 years ago and convinced me I should take part before this committee.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know a man named Nowell?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, from Detroit. He was a student. So were Charles White and a number of others whose names I cannot recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to your testimony you were a member of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe the work of that commission?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party had the major responsibility of coordinating and directing the work of the Communist Party among the Negro people in America. It worked out the program and policy; devised various Communist-front organizations around different issues; worked out resolutions, and so forth, and the programs for each of the Communist-front organizations set up. That was their function. In other words, our job was to win the Negro in America over to communism.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the relationship of that Commission to the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and the National Negro Congress?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Negro League was formed by the Communist Party, and its program was identical with the program of the Communist Party for the Negro.

The majority of members of the American Negro Labor Congress were Communists or fellow-travelers. It was a very narrow, sectarian organization, and the party decided to change its name and broaden its activities, so the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. It continued the program of the American Negro Labor Congress. It published a newspaper, the *Liberator*, and it had a news agency which supplied propaganda and money to all the colored newspapers. I think it was called the Crusader News Agency, headed by Cyril Briggs.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were those organizations financed?

Mr. JOHNSON. I didn't finish answering your question. If you will hold that question in abeyance. I will finish with the American Negro Labor Congress.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights was never successful in penetrating any broad sections of the Negro people. It remained a very narrow and sectarian organization. So the party, after having received the open letter, which was really drawn in Moscow and called for breaking away from narrow organizations, in line with this open letter, at a meeting of the national committee which, as I recall, was in the latter part of 1934 or early part of 1935, we discussed the general situation among Negroes, and the conclusion was that there was considerable unrest among them and that the time was historically right for the formation of a broad and all-inclusive organization.

As a result of that discussion and that conclusion, the national committee of the party, upon the recommendation of one of the members of the Negro commission present at that meeting, decided to set up the National Negro Congress. The national committee gave James W. Ford the responsibility, along with the Negro commission of the national committee, to form that congress.

We were fishing around for someone to head the congress, and we found there was no finer person to get who was not a member of the party than A. Philip Randolph. He was approached and agreed.

We had a party member of the committee, John P. Davis, who was a member of the party until the time I left. He served as secretary of the provisional committee.

They contacted liberals all over the country and requested that they become sponsors for this congress, and they succeeded in getting many Negro leaders to sponsor the congress. They didn't know it was a Communist-front organization. They were interested in combating lynching, Jim Crowism, and so forth.

The first meeting of the National Negro Congress, which I attended, was well represented. They had representatives from all walks of Negro life as well as from white society.

The first National Negro Congress was successful beyond the wildest dream. We met in advance as a Communist fraction and drew resolutions and had our people planted on every panel to guarantee we would not lose control of the congress, because we were afraid it might fall into the hands of those who were not Communists, and therefore we would not be able to carry through the party line in the congress.

From time to time the executive board of the congress met. We met often in Max Yergan's office in New York City. It is interesting

to note that before each meeting we would have a fraction meeting, and we would decide what we would ram down the throats of the non-Communists. We would be there about an hour before they came, and with them it was a question of accepting what we said.

We had some people who were known to be Communists, and some not known to be Communists but who were in reality Communists. When a non-Communist would recommend a proposition, the non-party people would oppose it. The people who could not be identified as Communists had the responsibility of convincing the non-Communists that the Communists were right and they should go along with them. Sometimes we had differences with non-Communists, and they dropped out.

The second National Negro Congress was held in Philadelphia in 1937. I think it was in October 1937, to be exact. That was even more successful than the first Congress.

The third—and fatal—National Negro Congress was held in Washington, D. C. The Communists had become so drunk with power, and they felt they had such strong control over the congress, that they thought they could walk roughshod over the liberals, and they antagonized A. Philip Randolph and he began to fight James W. Ford and others.

James W. Ford and others insisted I fight A. Philip Randolph, and I refused to do so, and at that time I predicted they were on the road to breaking up the congress.

The fight widened to such an extent that Randolph began to speak openly against Communist domination. I used to wonder how Randolph could be so naive as to not know it was a Communist-front organization.

Before the third congress met, we got wind that Randolph was going to resign. We had Communists go to that congress representing various paper organizations so as to give them control in voting.

When Randolph saw the Congress was packed with Communists, Randolph resigned and walked out. Before Randolph did that, however, the Communists held a big caucus and we briefed all the Communists about what was going to take place. John P. Davis and others were telling us to blast Randolph.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of an open letter being received from Moscow. That, of course, was during the period when directions were received directly from Moscow in the operation of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. JOHNSON. That open letter was directed by Moscow to the American Party because the American Party was not growing as fast as Moscow felt it should. It was really a call to the American Party to broaden and extend its influence and organization among section of the workers and farmers and intellectuals and middle-class elements that they had never been in contact with before.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke this morning of a severance, on the surface, of the Communist Party of the United States from the Communist International. What did you mean by that?

Mr. JOHNSON. I meant exactly this, that the American Communist Party formally severed their relation, but in reality they maintained and continued that relation. The formal severance was for general consumption.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any difference in the policy line before and after this took place?

Mr. JOHNSON. There was no change at all in the policy before and after.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said a few moments ago that Dirba discussed Paul Robeson with you. Did any other member of the Commission or of the Communist Party discuss him with you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; J. Peters. J. Peters was one of those who threatened us with expulsion from the party if we ever mentioned that Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken of these various Communist-front organizations which were organized by the work of the Communists. How were those organizations financed?

Mr. JOHNSON. They were financed directly by the party. That is, the initial money was appropriated by the party. Of course, after they were developed, then they conducted their own campaigns and sought to collect funds from the public generally.

Whenever we were in desperate financial straits the party had a way of subsidizing them through front organizations. The International Workers Order would give substantial contributions and, in short, all the front organizations would contribute substantially to the work and activities of these groups. In that way they were able to function. When they had served their usefulness, of course, they were abolished and new organizations were formed.

That is why it is so difficult for the layman to keep track of all the different organizations that come into existence, live for a season, and perish.

Mr. TAVENNER. This morning, in connection with your testimony, you mentioned the Scottsboro case. What was the object in the strategy of the Communist Party in regard to that case and the Herndon case and other cases of that nature?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Communist Party was looking for some issue that they could use to penetrate the ranks of the Negro people. The Scottsboro case was made to order for them. They seized upon that as a sort of key that would enable them to open the doors of the Negro churches and civic organizations and through this medium to link up the question of the Scottsboro case with the whole question of the right of self-determination and the overthrow of this Government and the establishment of the Soviet type of government, and so forth.

It was a case they felt they could really exploit. As I said this morning, in the Negro commission of the national committee we were definitely told by James W. Ford and other leaders of the party: "We don't give a darn about the Scottsboro boys. If they burn it doesn't make any difference. We are only interested in one thing, how we can use the Scottsboro case to bring the Communist movement to the people and win them over to communism."

We had trouble with Samuel Liebowitz, counsel for the defense. He opposed the Communist line in the defense of the boys. We discussed that and decided to get rid of him. Benjamin Davis was appointed to go talk to the mothers of the boys and get them to decide to drop Liebowitz as counsel. Ben Davis went down there and did that job and they praised him highly for that.

Once Liebowitz was out, the Communists felt by getting other attorneys who would go along with them, they could continue to have mass meetings and parades. That was what the Communists wanted. Liebowitz wanted to fight the case on legal grounds. The Communists wanted to dramatize the issues around these mass meetings and riots so that they could radicalize the masses, in the first place, and, secondly, it would be a good opportunity to indoctrinate them.

They felt if some of the demonstrations were broken up by the police they could say: "Here you are protesting against the legal lynching of innocent boys. The police club you for it. The police are instruments of the capitalist class, and the only way to get rid of this condition is by the complete destruction of the whole system. It is a very subtle manner of propaganda. If you hammer away at it long enough you will impress a lot of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, that was the general attitude of the Communist Party towards race riots?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. They were willing to foment race riots, if necessary. They were interested in creating confusion and opposition to the courts and the Government and the whole system.

Mr. WOOD. Was the cost of such tactics in human lives ever discussed?

Mr. JOHNSON. They used to tell us the people would never learn about the Communist movement unless they were trampled or beaten over the head. Human life, to Communists, is cheap.

Mr. WOOD. I understand they were willing to sacrifice the boys in the Scottsboro case to further communism?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right, they were willing to sacrifice them in order to win over Negroes to the Communist Party and its world revolutionary program.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have touched upon it at many different places in your testimony, but will you summarize briefly what you consider to be the Communist plan of operation in infiltrating into Negro labor unions, or into the labor movement generally?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, the Communists have organized cells or fractions in many labor unions. These cells operate in a well-coordinated and well-directed way. In fact, they meet and they work out a policy. Their policy mainly is to find issues around which they can win over the rank and file, and after they have won over the rank and file, have them voted into positions of leadership.

Once they have gained control of a particular local, then they proceed to change its whole policy. You will find in resolutions, in documents, and in decisions they will carry out the Communist line in every respect.

I remember when the Communist Party decided in the early thirties to organize the automobile industry. The best Communist organizers and forces were shoved into Detroit. The party dumped hundreds of thousands of dollars in the organization work, and succeeded in controlling the powerful automobile union until Reuther and his group succeeded in unseating them, but prior to that they controlled over 1,000,000 members. Through concentration and unity, keeping a solid front against opposition, they were able to maintain control successfully, because any organized minority can control a disorganized majority.

The same example can be shown in the transportation industry in New York. We in the national office decided the transportation industry should be reorganized, and we assigned hundreds of Communists to work in the transport industry. The party subsidized the movement in the form of leaflets and so forth.

We picked up Mike Quill and Santos and Hogan, and they did a successful job in organizing that industry. Of course, Quill has turned against the Communists, and I gave him a lift because I testified against Santos in the immigration hearing, and once Santos and Hogan were exposed, the authorities completed the job.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the recognized Negro leadership in the United States?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Communist Party has nothing but utter contempt for Negro leadership in America. This was best expressed by Paul Robeson at the Rockham Palace meeting in Washington. I might say for my years in the party and sitting in the higher circles of the party, where we discussed Negro leaders, all the Negro leaders, with few exceptions, were considered by the Communists as Negro petty bourgeois nationalists. Most of them, they contended, would want to be capitalists, but because of the absence of basic industry among Negroes, they had not attained that goal, but their thinking and acting and everything was along the line of that of any other capitalist group; that the Negro leaders such as those who headed NAACP, Urban League, and large segments of the clergy, were tools of the bourgeois state; that they were apologists for all those who were champions of the Negro people. In some literature they actually called them "Uncle Toms."

The Communists are fighting for control of the Negroes, and in order to do that they must destroy the Negro leadership we have in NAACP, Urban League, and other organizations which have some of the finest leaders that the Negro race has ever produced, men basically and fundamentally loyal to America who are unalterably opposed to communism, and because the Communists know this they fear them; and the only way they can gain control over the Negro people is to destroy Negro leadership.

Paul Robeson, who wishes to become the Black Stalin, is exploiting discrimination and other ills for that purpose. The Negro people have leaders who are fully able and capable of straightening out each and every problem that confronts them. I think as time goes on that leadership will be strengthened and broadened and will bring about great results in the coming years.

The record of NAACP has been remarkably fine. The record of the Urban League has been remarkably fine. And the record of a large section of the clergy has been splendid. As a result of their efforts, considerable progress has been made. Paul Robeson would like to destroy that progress, because he would like to ride into power on the broken backs of Negro leaders who are good Americans.

I was talking to them, and they, like I, have faith in the future of America. We believe that as America has solved those problems in the past, America will solve them in the future. Good Americans without alien connections will work out a policy and program which I believe will result in the extension of all democratic rights to the Negro minority.

To summarize, if the heads of our Government would speak out in this direction and support a broad civil-rights program; and if the leaders of the church, and fathers and mothers in the home, and civic organizations, would deal with this problem of discrimination and segregation and Jim-Crowism; I believe it would go a long way in eliminating the inequalities and ills that exist in our republic, and bring a new burst of freedom for the Negro people.

MR. TAVENNER. Have you prepared a list of organizations which you consider to be, and which according to your own knowledge are, Communist-front organizations?

MR. JOHNSON. Yes. I have here a list that I would like to read into the record of Communist-front organizations among Negroes. It is a long list.

MR. WOOD. We will be glad to have it in the record.

MR. JOHNSON. African Blood Brotherhood: That was one of the earliest Communist-front organizations among the Negroes. That was headed by Richard B. Moore and Cyril Briggs. That organization now is out of existence.

All Harlem Youth Conference: That, also, is no longer functioning, but it was one of the organizations aimed at penetrating the Negro youth of Harlem.

American Committee for a Free Indonesia: This is a Communist-front organization. When they speak of a Free Indonesia they mean a Communist-dominated Indonesia.

MR. WOOD. That organization is still in existence?

MR. JOHNSON. That organization is still in existence.

American Committee for a Korean People's Party: That organization is at present in existence, and it has as its objective the winning of support of the Negro people for the Communist Party program in Korea, to raise funds and give moral support to it.

American Committee for Indonesian Independence: That is similar to the American Committee for a Korean People's Party.

American Negro Labor Congress: That is now out of existence.

Artists Committee for Protection of Negro Rights: That had as its object Communist penetration of Negro artists. It is now out of existence.

Citizens Committee for the Appointment of a Negro to the Board of Education: That, also, was a Communist-front organization which is now defunct.

Civil Rights Congress: That is a Communist-front organization which is at the present time operating.

Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training: This is an organization that came about during the war. It is not functioning at the moment, but it had as its objective the winning over of Negroes in the armed services to the Communist policy.

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy: This organization is still functioning. It has as its program the support of Communist policy in the Far East.

Committee for the Negro in the Arts: This is a Communist-front organization to win over Negroes in the arts to the Communist policy.

Committee to Abolish Peonage: That was a Communist-front organization aimed at penetrating the deep South. It is no longer functioning.

Committee to Aid the-Fighting South: That organization is still functioning. It is another Communist-front organization to penetrate the Negroes in the deep South.

Committee to Defend Angelo Herndon: That organization is out of existence. Most of you remember Angelo Herndon was arrested in Georgia and sentenced to 20 years. I think he was convicted under an old slave insurrection law. Ben Davis defended him.

Council of Young Southerners, also known as League of Young Southerners: That was another Communist-front organization which is now out of existence.

Council on African Affairs: That is a Communist-front organization to develop moral support for the Communist Party in Africa.

Defense Committee for Claudia Jones: Claudia Jones is a Communist who was arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as an enemy alien. She is out on bail. That committee is still in existence.

George Washington Carver School: That was a school set up by the Communist Party in Harlem. Its purpose is to teach Negroes Marxism, Leninism, and proletarian revolution.

Mr. Wood. Is that still in existence?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think it went out of existence in the last few weeks. It may be functioning in a sharply curtailed way, but I am not too sure. I know it was in existence until recently.

Harlem Committee to End Police Brutality: That committee is no longer functioning, but it was also a Communist-front organization among Negroes.

Harlem Committee To Free the Trenton Six: That is a Communist-front organization among Negroes which is still in existence.

Harlem Council on Education: That was also a Communist-front organization, now nonexistent.

Herndon Defense Committee: That was also a Communist-front organization which is no longer functioning.

International Committee of Negro Workers: That was a Communist-front organization. It is now out of existence.

International Committee on African Affairs: That committee is no longer functioning. It was a Communist-front organization.

International Trade Union Committee for Negro Workers: That is a current Communist-front organization.

International Workers Order: That is a Communist-front insurance organization. They use insurance in order to get into the Communist movement generally many people who won't join the Communist Party, but who, through their contributions and moral support, aid the party.

Mr. Wood. They are still in existence?

Mr. JOHNSON. They are still in existence.

League for Protection of Minority Rights: That was a Communist-front organization which is now out of existence.

League of Struggle for Negro Rights: That organization is now out of existence.

League of Young Southerners: That was a Communist-front organization to penetrate Negroes in the South. It is now out of existence.

National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax: That was a Communist-front organization. It is no longer in existence.

National Conference of Negro Youth: That was another Communist-front organization which is no longer in existence.

National Emergency Committee to Stop Lynching: That was a Communist-front organization. It is now out of existence.

National Negro Congress: That is a Communist-front organization now out of existence with the exception of a few scattered chapters, but for all practical purposes its influence is absolutely nil among Negroes.

National Student Committee for Negro Problems: That is out of existence.

Negro Cultural Committee: That committee is out of existence.

Negro Labor Victory Committee: That was a Communist-front organization very active during the war. It is now out of existence.

Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy: That committee is no longer functioning.

Scottsboro Defense Committee: That committee is now out of existence.

Southern Negro Youth Congress: That was another Communist-front organization used to penetrate Negroes in the South. It is no longer in existence.

Southern Youth Legislature: That organization is no longer in existence.

United Aid for Peoples of African Descent: That organization was used to develop moral and financial support for the Communist movement in Africa.

United Front for Herndon: That is now out of existence.

United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization: That is a Communist-front organization which still has units functioning in Harlem at the present time.

United Negro and Allied Veterans of America: That is a current Negro veterans' organization. Immediately after the war the Communists made desperate efforts to win over Negro veterans, and this organization was one of the Communist fronts set up to get the Negro veterans into the Communist Party.

Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York: That is a Communist front aimed at winning over Negro veterans to the Communist Party.

Communist-front publications:

Negro Champion. That is no longer functioning.

Liberator. No longer functioning.

New Africa. That is a Communist front.

People's Voice. No longer in existence. It was a front publication for the Communist Party.

That completes the list of organizations and publications which I have here for insertion in the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made reference to an alien enemy proceeding. At this time I think there is no such thing. You must mean a deportation proceeding?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the operations of the Communist Party, how did it proceed to raise the funds which were necessary to carry on its work?

Mr. JOHNSON. The party had numerous methods of raising funds.

The party had heavy and substantial contributors among very wealthy people. In the party we used to call them "bleeding hearts." That meant persons with plenty of dough who wanted to do something for the working people. We used to tap them, and they were tapped heavily and made substantial contributions to the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you tap "bleeding hearts" in and around the District of Columbia?

Mr. JOHNSON. We had them all over the country. Wherever there was a Communist movement we found "bleeding hearts" we could go to and get substantial contributions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you name any large contributors here in the District of Columbia?

Mr. JOHNSON. I would suggest you defer that question until a future date. I didn't come prepared to go into that phase of it.

Mr. WOOD. Was not one of the methods of getting these contributions, in order to make it more attractive to the donors to make the contributions, to set up front organizations under appealing names, obtain certificates from the Treasury Department that contributions to those organizations were tax-free, and therefore tax-free contributions were funneled into the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. During the Scottsboro campaign hundreds of thousands of dollars were collected all over the country by Communists. Very little of it was spent for the defense, and very little got back to the Scottsboro boys or their parents. I remember at one time the Scottsboro parents complained because they were not helped out financially. So they decided to send the Scottsboro mothers \$15 a week. That was a drop in the bucket compared to the money collected. Money collected for the Scottsboro boys was used for Communist Party activities. All they paid for the defense were counsel fees and transcripts, and the balance of the money was siphoned off for Party activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you anything else to say about their methods of raising money?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mostly through contributions and collections. They were pretty good at making collections. When you have a good issue, people will contribute. As far as the newspaper is concerned, the International Press was a form of subsidy to the Communist Party.

The information that you have gotten from me today was not prepared before I came here. Mr. Stokes spoke to me about a couple years ago in New York, and met with me again several months ago, and I discussed with him some of the things which I have put in the record. They are more or less familiar to me. To answer some of the questions you ask thoroughly and as they should be answered would necessitate my refreshing my recollection and checking on certain records and so forth which I have. I will be glad to come at any future time to assist you in establishing the facts as to Communist activities in this republic.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know a party by the name of James S. Allen?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have known him over 15 years.

Mr. WOOD. Is he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. He was a member of the Communist Party when I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. Did he publish a periodical of some sort known as Negro Liberation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. He was second only to Harry Haywood on this subject.

Mr. WOOD. It seems in one of the publications of Negro Liberation in 1938 a map was included, a blueprint of which I hand you, and I ask you if that corresponds in area to the plan you testified had been promulgated sometime ago for the establishment of a Negro republic in the South?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have seen this in the pamphlet, Negro Liberation, and I am fully familiar with this map. This represents the territory which I mentioned in my earlier testimony. This is the old Cotton Belt, or the old Black Belt.

Mr. WOOD. The area in white on the map is the area that was to be included in the Negro republic?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. And I believe you said the plan that was promulgated by the Communist Party of America was that the Negroes in that area were to secede from the Union?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. WOOD. By force and violence, if necessary?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. WOOD. Was it ever discussed what the cost in lives would be?

Mr. JOHNSON. They don't care about that so long as they carry through their program. They are the most ruthless and unscrupulous politicians the world has ever produced.

Mr. WOOD. Is it your opinion any person in responsible position in the Communist Party at the time that plan was under consideration had the faintest idea such plan could succeed in this republic of ours?

Mr. JOHNSON. No. I would say this, that the majority of Negroes who were attracted to the Communist Party never understood that particular phase of the policy. It was only a small minority of leaders, the top strata of Negro Communists, who were familiar with this.

Mr. WOOD. I am talking of the top strata of the Communist Party, do you think any of them had the faintest idea this plan could succeed?

Mr. JOHNSON. They are positive it is possible of achievement, and they are determined to carry it through.

Mr. WOOD. You think that is the policy today?

Mr. JOHNSON. That, in my opinion, is still the policy. I know of no example of their changing the basic line already set forth. They seek to destroy the Government, and I assume, Mr. Chairman, you would be the first one they would liquidate.

Mr. WOOD. I have had that idea for some time.

The Chair offers that map in evidence. It has been identified.⁴²

You are here in response to a subpoena served upon you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. STOKES. While you were a functionary of the Communist Party, were you ever sent out of the United States on a Communist mission?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I was secretary of the American Commission to Cuba, and I was sent to Cuba to help the revolutionary forces there.

⁴² See appendix, p. 523. Manning Johnson Exhibit 15. Reproduced as frontispiece.

I might say, from the point of view of background, that Cuba at that time was in a state of revolution. They had overthrown the government of Machado, and the Mendieta-Batista revolutionary junta had come into power.

We were assigned to tour the island and assist the Communist forces to overthrow the Mendieta-Batista junta and put in power Grau San Martin and his group. They considered the Grau San Martin government would be a government that would permit Communists to operate openly.

That is all I can recall at the present time. But I do know we were thrown in jail down there, and I never will forget the experience. We sailed on the *S. S. Oriente* a short time after the *Moro Castle* burned.

When we arrived in Cuba we were herded like cattle off the *S. S. Oriente* to a separate part of the dock, and there we were lined up, searched, surrounded by the national police and a lot of other law-enforcement agencies, then lined up two abreast, marched into a motor boat, and taken to shore. We were surrounded by armed guards. They had pistols, tear gas, and everything. We were marched up a winding hill, and every 2 or 3 minutes they would stop us and count us.

They took us in a heavily barricaded room and placed us with a soldier, bayonet fixed, and with pistol and club, at the foot of each bunk.

We had to sleep on a double-decker bunk with no mattress, nothing but ordinary springs. In the morning they served us fruit and hard-tack and coffee. Those who could sleep were rudely awakened by the butt of a rifle.

Finally, we were able to contact the American consulate, through whose intervention we were freed and shipped back to the States on the steamship *Oriente*. The group who had come to the docks to meet us were severely slugged.

Mr. STOKES. You say "we." Who accompanied you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Clifford Odets was chairman. I was the secretary. That was the same year of the *Moro Castle* catastrophe. We came to Washington at that time to protest to the State Department. Jefferson Caffrey was ambassador to Cuba at that time.

Mr. STOKES. So you were sent to Cuba to participate in the revolution in that country?

Mr. JOHNSON. Of course. What other purpose did we have for going there?

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to the People's Voice, I believe, in your testimony. Was that the People's Voice published in New York?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you very much for coming here and for the information you have given us. You may be excused under your subpoena unless you are otherwise notified by the committee.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you.

(Whereupon the hearing continued with testimony of C. B. Clark, printed under same title, pt. 1.)

APPENDIX

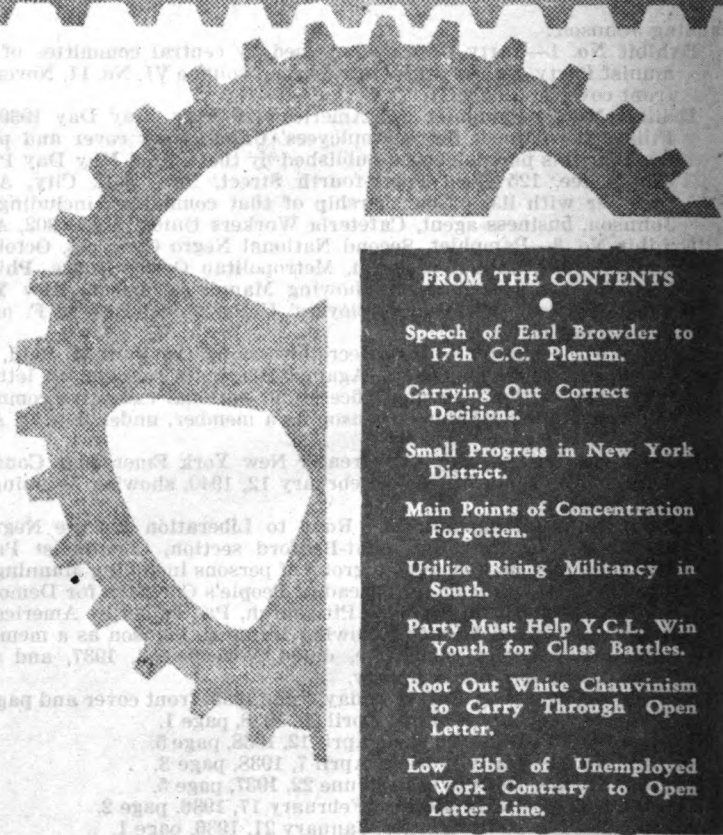
EXHIBITS INTRODUCED INTO THE RECORD DURING TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON AND RETAINED IN THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(Photographic reproductions of Manning Johnson exhibits follow)

Manning Johnson:

- Exhibit No. 1**—Party Organizer, issued by central committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, volume VI, No. 11, November 1933, front cover and page 11.
- Exhibit No. 2**—Pamphlet, *An American Holiday, May Day 1939*, by Jane Filley, Department Store Employees' Union, front cover and page showing that this pamphlet was published by the United May Day Provisional Committee, 125 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City, April 1939, together with list of membership of that committee, including Manning Johnson, business agent, Cafeteria Workers Union, Local 302, A. F. of L.
- Exhibit No. 3**—Pamphlet, *Second National Negro Congress*, October 15, 16, and 17, 1937, annual program, Metropolitan Opera House, Philadelphia, Pa.; front cover and page showing Manning Johnson, New York City, delegate from Cafeteria Employees' Union, Local 302, A. F. of L., as a discussion leader.
- Exhibit No. 4**—Letter to City Secretary, signed by Paul M. Reid, executive secretary, American League Against War and Fascism, on letterhead of that organization, showing officers and national executive committee, the latter including Manning Johnson as a member, under date of August 22, 1935.
- Exhibit No. 5**—Program, the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Right, Monday, February 12, 1940, showing Manning Johnson as a speaker.
- Exhibit No. 6**—Pamphlet, *The Road to Liberation for the Negro People*, distributed by the Stuyvesant-Bedford section, Communist Party, 1660 Fulton Street, an appeal by a group of persons including Manning Johnson.
- Exhibit No. 7**—Letter on letterhead of People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, November 26–28, 1937, Pittsburgh, Pa., called by American League Against War and Fascism, showing Manning Johnson as a member of the national executive committee, dated November 3, 1937, and signed by James Lerner, youth secretary.
- Exhibit No. 8**—*Soviet Russia Today*, June 1935, front cover and page 25.
- Exhibit No. 9**—*Daily Worker*, April 29, 1938, page 1.
- Exhibit No. 10**—*Daily Worker*, April 12, 1938, page 5.
- Exhibit No. 11**—*Daily Worker*, April 7, 1938, page 3.
- Exhibit No. 12**—*Daily Worker*, June 22, 1937, page 5.
- Exhibit No. 13**—*Daily Worker*, February 17, 1936, page 2.
- Exhibit No. 14**—*Daily Worker*, January 21, 1936, page 1.
- Exhibit No. 15**—Map compiled by the Communist Party showing the area (11 Southern States) which would be set up by the Communist Party as a Negro Soviet Republic. (First published in the *Negro Liberation* in 1938 by James S. Allen.) (Frontispiece.)

Party Organizer



FROM THE CONTENTS

Speech of Earl Browder to
17th C.C. Plenum.

Carrying Out Correct
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Small Progress in New York
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Party Must Help Y.C.L. Win
Youth for Class Battles.

Root Out White Chauvinism
to Carry Through Open
Letter.

Low Ebb of Unemployed
Work Contrary to Open
Letter Line.

Vol. VI.

NOVEMBER, 1933

No. 11

Issued by
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A.

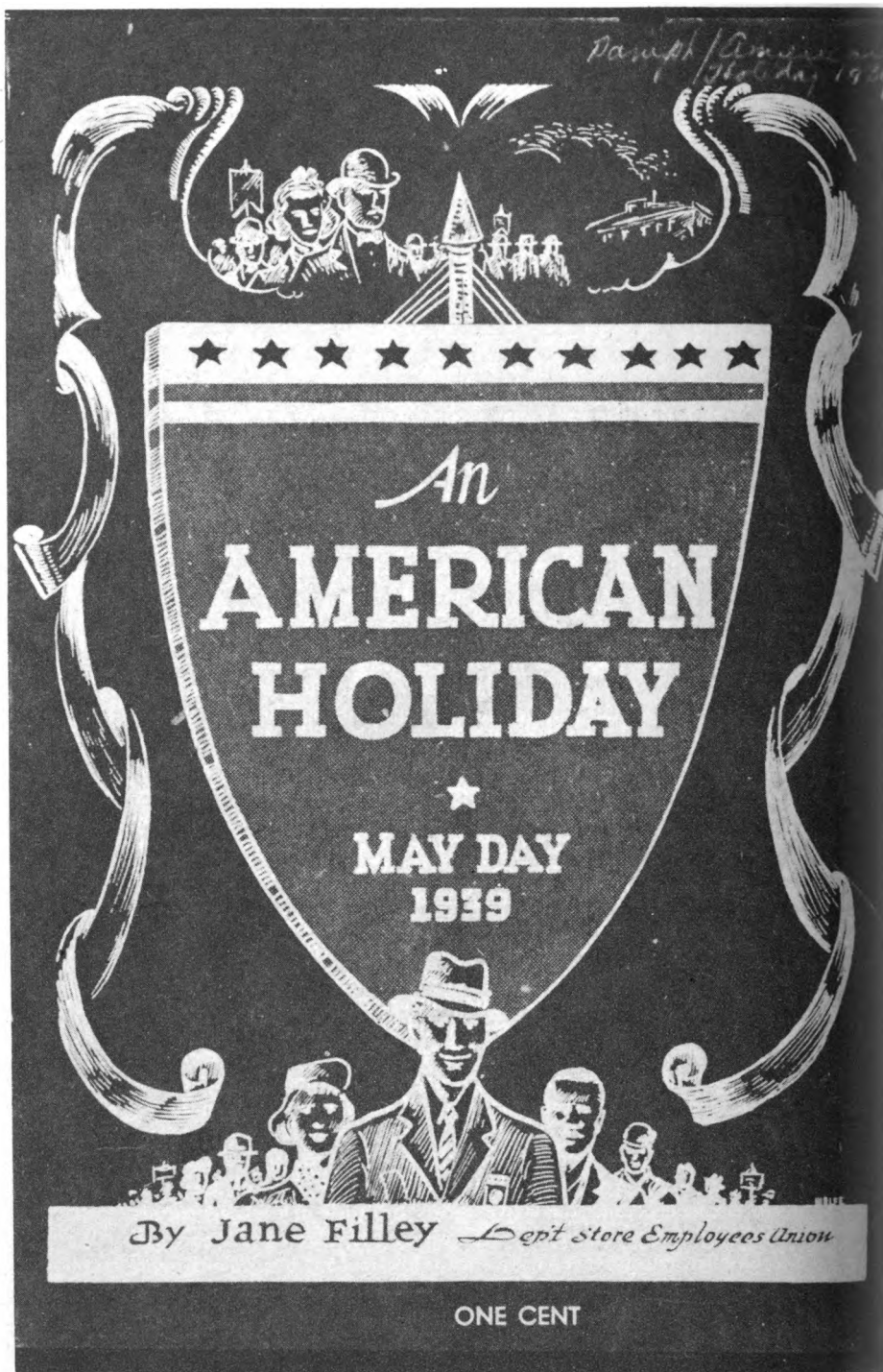
this victory, consulted the wire drawers on how they achieved this victory. It was on the basis of the work among the wire drawers that we were able to draw into a major battle the workers of this decisive steel plant in Buffalo, through which we were able to build the Party, to establish the Steel and Metal Workers' Union in Black Rock. The A. F. of L. is active in Buffalo, but we did not stand on the sidelines. Everywhere the A. F. of L. was active we were there, challenging the A. F. of L. for leadership of the masses. One of the workers pumped a question at John C. Johnson, Secretary of the Central Labor Council, and a Negro worker took the floor and challenged him on the Negro question, and this threw him off his balance, and then I spoke for thirty minutes, after which I told the workers to join the Steel and Metal Workers' Union, and they did join that union.

Against Mechanical Separation

There have been weaknesses also in our work. Leading comrades are often afraid to bring in the role of the Party in these struggles, so deep-rooted is the fear of bringing in the Communist Party. When I was active in the strike in Buffalo the workers did not raise the question of the "Reds," and I myself brought in this question. I said, "You know that I am a member of the Communist Party, but I am also a steel worker and I am here to help you organize for higher wages and better conditions." When this question was raised, the comrades said that the workers would call the union a red union, and although I worked in the steel mills in Buffalo, I had to fight them to get a book for the union, and only a few days ago, after three months of struggle, I got a book to the Steel and Metal Workers' Union. This mechanical separation of the Party from trade union work, this fear that when a Party comrade becomes a District Organizer he cannot have anything to do with mass struggles, is absolutely incorrect. The place of a District Organizer is among the workers and not in an office.

There was also a tendency to put the highly skilled, former aristocracy of labor and certain petty bourgeois elements into the leadership instead of basing the leadership of our unions on non-skilled and semi-skilled workers. Because of this situation the comrades were influenced by the ideology of those skilled and petty bourgeois elements, and we have suffered from this because some of these unstable elements became the active agents and tools of the steel barons in fighting against the union. This should be a lesson not only for our District, but for the entire Party, not to base our unions upon the skilled only, but mainly on unskilled and semi-skilled elements.

—MANNING JOHNSON.



Published by

UNITED MAY DAY PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE

125 West 45th Street

New York City

April, 1939

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Second NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS



1937
OCTOBER
15
16
17

25¢

ANNUAL
PROGRAM

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
PHILADELPHIA PENNA

Trade Union Sessions

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16—10 A. M.

Orchestra Floor

Industrial Unionism and the Negro

Chairman: FRED D. STUBBS,

Fairmont, W. Va.; delegate from District 31, United Mine Workers of America.

Discussion Leaders: (Each leader to take not more than ten minutes.)

FRANK, R. CROSSWAITH,

New York City; delegate from the Socialist Party and organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

COLUMBUS ALSTON,

Richmond, Va.; delegate from the Southern Negro Youth Congress and C. I. O. organizer for tobacco workers.

MANNING JOHNSON,

New York City; delegate from Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302, A. F. of L.

REVELS CAYTON,

San Francisco, Cal.; vice-president District Council Number 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast.

(The session will close promptly at 12.15 P. M.)

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16—2 P. M.

Orchestra Floor

Organization of Negro Workers

Chairman: MISS MAUDE WHITE,

Cleveland, Ohio; chairman of the Labor Committee of Cleveland Council of the National Negro Congress.

Discussion Leaders: (Each leader to take not more than ten minutes.)

PAUL KIRK,

Detroit, Mich.; organizer for the United Automobile Workers of America.

WILLIAM SAXBY TOWNSEND,

Chicago, Ill.; president of the International Brotherhood of Station Porters.

JAMES NELSON,

Washington, D. C.; president of District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America.

PHILIP MURRAY,

Pittsburgh, Pa.; chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

JEROME DAVIS,

New Haven, Conn.; president of the American Federation of Teachers.

(The session will close promptly at 4.15 P. M.)



AMERICAN LEAGUE

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A movement to unite in common resistance to War and Fascism all organizations and individuals who are opposed to these allied destroyers of mankind

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NEW YORK CITY

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JAMES LERNER

August 22, 1935

Dear City Secretary:

Here is the first part of the long-promised and much-needed ORGANIZATION HANDBOOK! The National Organization Committee has spent long hours of careful work in compiling and editing this material. It is designed to guide the work of our League Branches and City Committees all over the country. Its value lies in your use of it. The completed HANDBOOK covers the important questions as to the nature and organization of the League that have arisen in many places.

Read it carefully, see to it that the other members of your City Central Committee or Branch read it; discuss its contents, let us know whether the Book is helpful, and what additional information would be use ful to you.

You will note that the HANDBOOK is issued in loose-leaf form and in Sections. This is to make for the easy addition of new material. Get a cheap binder to fit these punched sheets, and keep the HANDBOOK for ready reference by all your League workers.

The rest of Section IV (the remainder of item II, and III and IV) will be out soon, and may easily be added.

The last half of the HANDBOOK will cover the following sections:

A City Central Committee in Operation
How to extend a City Central Committee into a community.
How to run meetings.
The Sections of the League—Women's, Trade Union, etc.
Things TO DO
Don'ts
Miscellaneous items

Additional copies of the completed HANDBOOK will cost 20¢. You may have other copies of the first half for 10¢.

Sincerely yours,

Paul M. Reid

Executive Secretary

PMR:SW

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 Alex V. Wright, Virginia
 Charles Zimmerman, New York

Program

OF THE

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

Monday, February 12, 1940

AT

TWO WEST SIXTY-FOURTH STREET - NEW YORK CITY
THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE



Organized anti-democratic forces are threatening the security and freedom of human personality and the rights of minority groups here in the United States. They are dividing, confusing and weakening those who wish to maintain our free democratic institutions. Such forces of oppression and fear, growing stronger because of the war in Europe, must not be permitted to overwhelm us. Never before have our constitutional liberties been under such concerted attack. At this moment we have a special responsibility as a united people to meet our danger and protect our rights. There are literally thousands of non-political organizations in the City of New York which are vitally concerned with the maintenance of the Bill of Rights, with minority and neighborhood relations and with anti-democratic legislation. This Conference is for them.

ROBERT W. SEARLE, *Chairman*

9:30 A.M.—REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES
AND VISITORS

11 A.M. GENERAL SESSION

Presiding Chairman: DR. MAX YERGAN, Director, International Committee on African Affairs

12:30 to 2 P.M.—LUNCHEON INTERVAL

2-5 P.M.—PANEL DISCUSSIONS—announcement of
Panel Chairmen and Speakers on page 2

5-8 P.M.—DINNER INTERVAL

8 P.M.—GENERAL SESSION

Presiding Chairman: DR. FRANK KINGDON, President,
University of Newark

Reports of Panel Discussions

Selection of Continuations Committee

SPEAKERS:

DR. JOHN ELLIOTT, Senior Leader, Society of
Ethical Culture

CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. COFFEE

DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY, President Emeritus of Mount
Holyoke College

PROFESSOR K. N. LLEWELLYN, Columbia Law
School

ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, American Civil Liberties
Union

SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights

OTHER SPEAKERS TO BE ANNOUNCED

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

Room 508 2 West 43rd Street, New York City Tel Pennsylvania 6-7944

PANELS

PANEL I—"FOREIGN BORN"

How to focus our energies the better to preserve the rights of the foreign born.
 How the foreign-language and foreign-born groups can unite to preserve and enlarge democracy for themselves and for all Americans.
 How to bring before the foreign-born their duties and privileges as Americans.
 How to disseminate and coordinate the best in both foreign and American cultures that both may gain in understanding.

Chairman of Panel: DR. FRANK KINGDON, President, University of Newark
Panel Speakers: DR. GERALD F. MACHACEK, President, United Czechoslovak American Societies
 ERWIN H. KLAUS, Editor, The German-American
 YOUNGHILL KANG, New York University
 EDWARD CORSI, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare
 VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON
 IRVING NOVICK, Acting Secretary, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born
 M. GARRIGA, Int'l Vice-President, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union
 NATHANIEL PHILLIPS, President, National League for American Citizenship
 DR. EMIL LENGVEL

PANEL II—"THE CHURCH AND THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY"

What Democracy means to Religion.
 What Religion means to Democracy.
 What are the official attitudes of the Religious Bodies toward all phases of Discrimination.
 What is involved in freedom of speech for the clergy.
 What is the Responsibility of the Church in the face of attacks upon Minorities.
 What practical methods are available to the Church.

Chairman of Panel: REV. LORENZO H. KING, St. Mark's Methodist Church
Panel Speakers: DR. EMANUEL CHAPMAN, Fordham University
 REV. A. J. MUSTE, American Labor Temple
 RABBI WILLIAM F. ROSENBLUM, Exec. Committee member, New York Board of Jewish Ministers
 REV. JOHN PAUL JONES, Union Church of Bay Ridge
 DR. THEODORE F. SAVAGE, President, the Greater New York Federation of Churches
 RABBI DAVID DeSOLA POOL, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue

PANEL III—"LABOR AND DEMOCRACY"

Labor's Civil Rights

Congressional Investigating Committees
 a. Dies Committee—its methods, procedure and objectives.
 b. The Smith Committee—its methods, procedure and objectives.
 c. The LaFollette Committee—comparison of procedure with that of other Congressional investigating committees.
 Legislation and the Trade Union Movement
 a. Analysis of the Alien Bills.
 b. Criminal Syndicalism Laws.
 c. The application of the Sherman Anti-trust Act.
 d. The Wages and Hours Law.

Chairman of Panel: LEO HUBERMAN
Panel Speakers: MERLE VINCENT, General Solicitor, Wages and Hours Administration
 ELMER BROWN, President, Typographical Union, Local No. 6, A. F. of L.
 NATHAN GREEN
 GARDNER JACKSON, Labor's Non-Partisan League
 MANNING JOHNSON, Business Agent, Cafeteria Employees' Union, A. F. of L.
 Other speakers to be announced.

PANEL IV—"ORGANIZING OUR NEIGHBORHOODS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION"

Actual experiences of violations of civil liberties in neighborhoods.
 Pending Legislation against Civil Liberties.
 What the Neighborhoods are accomplishing.
 Legislative conferences; citizens' rights groups; neighborhood papers; the financing of neighborhood groups.
 Practical steps to be taken to further organization in the neighborhoods.

Chairman of Panel: DEAN NED H. DEARBORN, New York University
Panel Speakers: HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS
 HON. VITO MARCANTONIO
 DR. LEONARD COVELLO, Principal, Benjamin Franklin High School
 THOMAS E. STONE, Executive Director, New York City Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action
 LESTER GRANGER, Secretary, Committee on Negro Welfare, Welfare Council of New York

PANEL V—"EDUCATION AS BASIS FOR TOLERANCE AND DEMOCRACY"

1. Personal Experiences Dealing with:
 - a. Minority Discrimination in Our Schools.
 - b. Student Organization and Relations.
 - c. Faculty Organization and Relations.
2. Education and Propaganda.
3. Legislative Threats to Our Educational System.
4. What Has Been Done to Counteract Anti-democratic Tendencies in the Field of Education.
5. Practical Steps That Must Be Taken to Preserve Academic Freedom.

Chairman of Panel: PROFESSOR WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH, Columbia University

Panel Speakers: DR. CHARLES H. FISHER, former president, Western Washington College of Education
 DR. BENJAMIN HARROW, College of the City of New York
 PROF. ROBERT K. SPEER, New York University
 DR. BELLA V. DODD, Legislative Representative, New York State Federation of Teachers' Unions
 WILLIAM A. HAMM, Asst. Superintendent of Schools
 PROF. DOXEY R. WILKERSON, Howard University

This program, containing the names of the speakers, is a supplement to the original Call to the Conference issued January 3, 1940. Those organizations which have not as yet signified their intention of sending delegates, are urged to do so, by filling out and mailing without delay the Application for Credential printed below.

Discussion will be limited to domestic problems related to civil rights, minority and neighborhood relations and to anti-democratic legislation, with special emphasis upon these problems in New York City.

The main purpose of the discussion in each Panel will be to determine the best and most fruitful methods of coping with the dangers threatening the civil rights and security of citizens in their neighborhoods and in the legislative assemblies of the state and nation, and what program of action can be developed by churches, schools, labor unions, settlements, fraternal orders and other organizations to meet these threats.

No resolutions will be entertained by the chairmen of the panels or of the general meetings.

Before adjournment of the panel meetings the delegates in each panel will nominate representatives from their respective panels for membership on the Continuations Committee, which will be empowered by the Conference to devise means of continuing the work of the Conference.

Guest tickets are available for interested individuals. The charge for these tickets is \$1.

APPLICATION FOR CREDENTIAL

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

2 West 43rd Street, Room 508, New York City

PEnnsylvania 6-7946

Name of Organization _____

Address _____

Number of members _____

Our organization will cooperate with the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights through (check participation desired).

_____ 1. ORGANIZATIONAL SPONSORSHIP AND PARTICIPATION.

_____ 2. ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION NOT INVOLVING SPONSORSHIP.

_____ 3. INDIVIDUAL OBSERVER.

We shall be represented by the following delegates or observers. (An organization may signify immediately its desire to sponsor or participate, and later register the names of its delegates or observers.)

Name of Delegate or Observer _____

Address _____

City _____

Name of Delegate or Observer _____

Address _____

City _____

Registration Fee: \$1 per delegate or observer, with the exception of youth groups which will be charged \$.50

(Signed) Name _____

Office _____

Each organization is entitled to two delegates or to two observers.
 Contributions for the support of this conference are cordially invited.



The
Road to
LIBERATION
for the **NEGRO**
PEOPLE

An Appeal by

A. W. Berry

Williana Burroughs

Benjamin Carreathers

Ben Davis, Jr.

James W. Ford

Angelo Herndon

Harry Haywood

Timothy Holmes

Manning Johnson

Richard B. Moore

William L. Patterson

William Taylor

Louise Thompson

Maude White

Henry Winston

Merrill Work

10

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

NOVEMBER 26-28, 1937

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Called by

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

National Office
288 Fourth Ave., Room 701
New York, N. Y.

Cable Address
Amleag, New York
Tel. AL 4-9784-5

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A. F. Whitney
Erl A. Whitney
N. A. Zonarich

November 3, 1937

Dear Friends:

Enclosed you will please find the Call to the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, scheduled for Pittsburgh, Nov. 26-28.

For sixteen long months, the youth of Spain have been engaged in mortal conflict; for three months the youth of Japan have been seeking to destroy the youth of China at the behest of imperial war lords; in Africa, the battle between the defenders of Ethiopia and the Fascist hordes is still in progress.

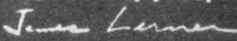
To prevent similar disasters from overtaking America, it is necessary for American youth to join in common planning with religious representatives, trade unionists, farmers, women and others for the preservation of peace and democracy.

It is for these reasons that outstanding American Youth leaders such as Joseph Cadden, Chairman of The American Continuations Committee of the World Youth Congress; John Lewis, president of the Young Peoples League; United Synagogues of America; Jack McMichael, Co-Chairman Nat'l Intercollegiate Christian Council; Mrs. A. E. Vixman, National vice-president, Young Judea; William Hinchley, Chairman American Youth Congress; Rose Troiano, Chairman National Industrial Council, Y.W.C.A.; Robert Spivack, Secy. International Student Service; Joseph Lash, Exec. Secy. American Student Union and Edward Strong, Chairman Southern Negro Youth Congress have endorsed this People's Congress.

Of special interest to the youth delegates will be a Youth sub-session to be held on Sunday morning, Nov. 28, at which the problems of youth as they relate to war and Fascism, will be discussed.

We urge that you elect delegates to this Congress immediately. If we stand in silent awe at the spectacle of impending world war, doom will be our lot. If we act together promptly, peace and democracy will be maintained.

Very sincerely yours,



James Lerner
Youth Secretary

JL:NT

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James Waterman Wise, New York
Tom Wright, Illinois

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

TRAVEL

INDUSTRY

SCHOOLS

SHIPS

ART

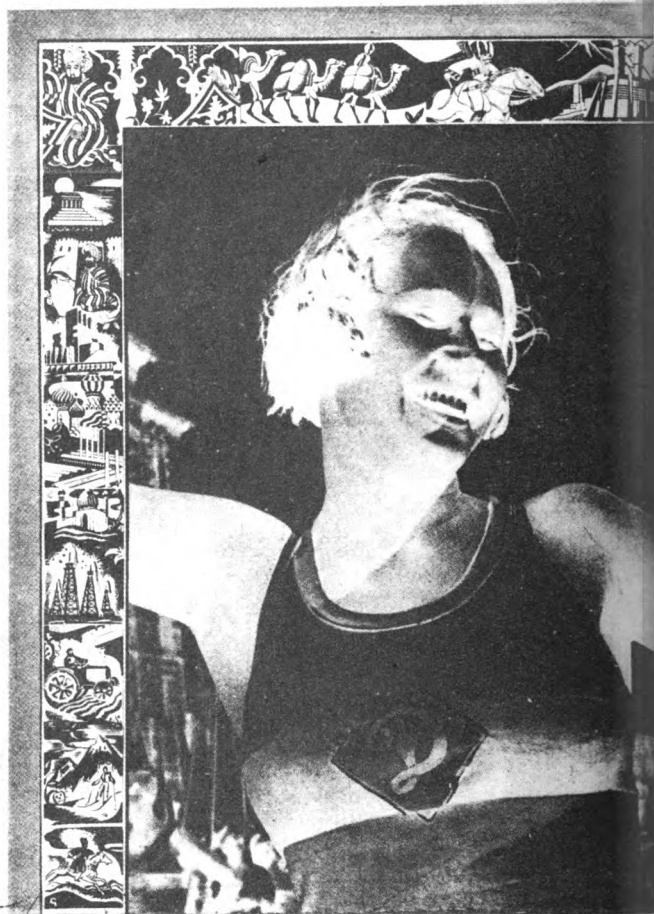
TRADE

UNIONS

IN THE

SOVIET

UNION



It was, as a matter of fact, through this unique pupil-teacher relationship that our salvation came. The Pioneers included a majority of the student body and through the student council the rest could be reached. Learning became a cooperative effort. A teacher's "I do not know" gradually became the signal for group effort to find the answer.

As the student organization progressed with their manifold sport and cultural activities, and as the influence of the improved work in the classrooms was felt, the problem of discipline narrowed down to what to do about certain individuals or small groups. The Pioneers appointed "towing brigades" to deal with the delinquents. They looked into the "out-of-school" influences and home backgrounds. They sought to draw them into school activities to counterbalance anti-social influences outside the school.

If all these efforts failed the culprits could be deprived of their red ties—blemish of Pioneer membership—for a probationary period. In such instances a "unfrocking" would be held at a very solemn general meeting. I can attest to the importance of this penalty in the lives of those affected and the school immunity. It worked.

One incident still has me mystified. It happened near the end of the year when I was still trying to lift the tempo of the class to a higher beat. A disturbance broke my poise and I made a snap judgment on its cause and ordered my class to sit. He made no protest but when I accused me of using "capitalist" discipline. I regretted my hastiness immediately, of course, but for the first time I refused to discuss a classroom complaint.

I told them I thought they had learned that the teacher ran the class and that if they had criticism they were to make it through their student organizations—organic components of the school collective. This was very close to being "dignified." It might be called reaucratic—a strong word in the USSR. But no one argued, and the class worked perfectly. I never heard another word about it.

Was my leg being pulled? I still do not know. Fourteen-year olds are not that.

It was a hard year. Accomplishments in short of objectives on numerous counts. Yet compensating for pretty much everything was the eagerness of the pupils to learn. Texts, they knew, were not prepared over night. They helped us make the best of it. Of teachers who worked sincerely and at not moderately successfully to teach them, they made heroes.

Four of us were given the red ties of the Pioneers and honorary membership the "highest gift in their power to give."

AN URGENT APPEAL!

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED!

From coast to coast, the entire organization of the **Friends of the Soviet Union**, and its thousands of sympathizers are engaged in a campaign of the most intense character to combat the lies and slanders about the Soviet Union which the powerful Hearst press has launched.

The success of our campaign to date is gratifying. We have won the first round! The American masses are learning to scorn Hearst's fantastic tales, to repudiate his slandering, war-mongering attacks.

Huge mass meetings have been held in leading cities attended by hundreds of thousands of workers, farmers, intellectuals, professionals, etc. More than 1,300,000 newspaper size broadsides have been distributed. Demonstrations of anger and protest have been held in front of the offices of Hearst papers. To carry on this campaign, we have received the most generous support of hundreds of people who have been quick to help us answer Hearst by contributing with their funds. Pennies, nickels, dimes and dollars have been sent in from all over the country and we have received, from individual donations and contributions at meetings, to date, a total of

\$ 3,945.73

FIGHT HEARST! FIGHT FASCISM! FIGHT WAR!

As Hearst launches new attacks against the Soviet Union, as the drive of the demagogues to pave the way for fascism here in America continues, as preparation for war intensifies, we must increase our own efforts to spread the truth about the Soviet Union. Our campaign must be made even more active. This is the crucial moment of the battle. **Which way will the tide turn?** Only with your financial help can we carry out our plans. Rush funds today. Anything that you can contribute towards this campaign is a mighty weapon in this struggle. Use coupon below.

ANSWER THE LIES OF HEARST!

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

(Signed)

Corlies Lamont
Herbert Goldfrank
A. A. Heller

Edwin Seaver
Alexander Lev
Bonchi Friedman

Dr. Reubek S. Young
Joseph Kiss
Myra Page

Ted Bayer
S. Almazoff
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Hays Jones

A. A. HELLER, Treasurer
National Action Committee
FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION
80 East 11th Street, N. Y. City

Friends:

Count me in on this fight!

1. Enclosed find \$..... as my financial contribution.
2. I want to do active work. Send me particulars.

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Street and No.

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF MINORITY GROUPS—PART 3
(Testimony of "Josh White")



HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

SEPTEMBER 1, 1950

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



UNITED STATES
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WASHINGTON : 1950

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS—PART 3

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:15 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, John McSweeney (arriving as indicated), Richard M. Nixon (arriving as indicated), and Harold H. Velde (arriving as indicated).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, Courtney Owens, and Alvin W. Stokes, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, there is a witness here who desires to appear voluntarily before the committee this morning, and I would like to call him, Mr. Josh White.

Mr. WOOD. Hold up your right hand, please. You solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WHITE. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record disclose that for the purpose of this hearing a subcommittee has been set up by the chairman consisting of Mr. Walter, Mr. Velde and Mr. Wood. Mr. Walter and Mr. Wood are here. Mr. Velde will be here in a few minutes.

TESTIMONY OF JOSHUA DANIEL WHITE

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name?

Mr. WHITE. Joshua Daniel White.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. WHITE. Greenville, S. C., February 11, 1914.

Mr. WOOD. Have you any objection to photographers making pictures?

Mr. WHITE. That is quite all right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. WHITE. Singer, actor, and musician.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will speak a little louder, please. I believe you specialize in singing folk songs, do you not?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in singing folk songs?

Mr. WHITE. Since I was about 7 years old.

Mr. WOOD. For the record, who is the person accompanying the witness?

Mr. STOKES. Mrs. White.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you are accompanied by your wife rather than by counsel; is that right?

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have expressed a desire to appear before the committee to make a statement with regard to your own activities?

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I believe you have such a statement prepared, have you not?

Mr. WHITE. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am going to suggest that you read it to the committee, and if you desire to add anything to it, that you do so, but before doing that I want to ask you, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WHITE. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You may proceed with such statement as you desire to make.

Mr. WHITE. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am here, as you know, quite voluntarily, and I want to thank you for this opportunity to clear up some misunderstandings about myself in some quarters. I have prepared this statement, which I shall read with your permission, after which I shall gladly answer any questions you may wish to put.

My conscience is clear. I intend to do some explaining for my own sake, and for the sake of many other entertainers who, like myself, have been used and exploited by people who give allegiance to a foreign power.

In recent years a lot of us have been drawn by our heartstrings into groups fixed up to look like noble causes which were later found to be subversive. I regret, and I suspect that many artists share the same deep regret with me, that an effective exposure of communistic activities in the theatrical and musical fields had not been made long before now.

Artists are not often smart about politics. We know mighty little about the ins and outs of "movements" and parties. But we're apt to have strong feelings and therefore an easy prey for anyone who appeals to our sense of justice and decency. Though it's not pleasant to talk about myself in public, I feel I owe it to my family and to other artists in the entertainment field to do so.

I have never knowingly belonged to or supported any organization designed to overthrow the Government of the United States. But I did on many occasions appear at benefits and rallies which I was led to believe were for worthwhile causes. I did not even suspect that some of them were Communist inspired. I did on some occasions sign petitions against lynching or poll tax or other evils.

(Hon. Harold H. Velde entered hearing room.)

Mr. WHITE (continuing). Dozens of other artists of all races and colors, I have no doubt, have also given their names and talent and time under the innocent impression that they were on the side of charity and equality. Let me make it clear, if I can, that I am still on that side. The fact that Communists are exploiting grievances for their own purposes does not make those grievances any less real.

As I've said, I am no politician. On the other hand, I do know what injustice and discrimination and Jim-Crowism mean. I know these things not as theories but as cruel facts that I've seen and suffered in my own life. Against these things I have protested and will go on protesting, because I love my country and want to see it a better, more tolerant, place to live in. I'm proud of the fact that under our system of freedom everyone is able to speak out—or in my case, to sing out—against what we consider wrong and for what we consider right.

I am what is called a folk singer. I was a folk singer long before I knew what it is called. Even when I was a boy I made up and sang songs of ordinary people, trying to convey their joys and sorrows, their grievances and their hopes. In this, I was expressing not only my own sentiments but the feelings of humble people generally, whatever their color or their names.

A folk singer, it seems to me, is the voice and the conscience of his time and his audience. He tries to put into words and music what those around him feel. This I shall continue to do, with God's help, as long as there is suffering and discrimination around me and freedom and equality to be won.

But that's not communism, even if Communists try to use us for their own foul ends. As I see it, it's simple Christianity. And I say this as the son of a minister brought up in a religious family. I say this as the father of four daughters and a son whom my wife and I are trying to bring up as patriotic and religious Americans—which is to say, as decent human beings.

I was 7 years old when I left my home in Greenville, S. C., to help support myself and my family. My job was to lead a blind man while playing the tambourine. Before I was 8 years old I knew what it meant to be kicked and abused. Before I was 9 years old I had seen two lynchings. I got to hate Jim Crow for what it did to me personally and because Jim Crow is an insult to God's creatures and a violation of the Christian beliefs taught by my father.

That's how I became a folk singer. I discovered that I had some talent for putting together words and fitting them with tunes on my guitar. When I was about 16, a man from Chicago convinced my mother and father to let me record some songs. I recorded under the title "Joshua White, the Singing Christian." My mother received \$100 and no royalties for 28 recordings. After that I went on the radio. Of course, I was thrilled by the career opening up for me—but I was even more thrilled by the chance to tell my fellow Americans, through my songs, about the wrongs that needed righting.

After that, I had some bad luck. I hurt my hand in an accident and for 5 years it remained paralyzed. Because I couldn't play, I felt as if I had been struck dumb. The doctors wanted to cut off three fingers, but I was stubborn—just hoped and prayed for a cure, meanwhile doing all kinds of jobs, running an elevator, anything, to keep alive. Then the paralysis ended. I got a role in a play, "John Henry," in which Mr. Paul Robeson had the lead.

I have a great admiration for Mr. Robeson as an actor and great singer, and if what I read in the papers is true, I feel sad over the help he's been giving to people who despise America. He has a right to his own opinions, but when he, or anybody, pretends to talk for a whole race, he's kidding himself. His statement that the Negroes would not fight for their country, against Soviet Russia or any other enemy, is both wrong and an insult; because I stand ready to fight Russia or any enemy of America.

There are some Communists among Negroes, as I am told, just as there are among other Americans. But they don't speak for the rest of us, any more than white Communists speak for white Americans. I am told that the proportion of Negro members in the Communist fold is even smaller than the proportion of other races; and that says a lot for their common sense.

When Communists and their kind talk about "democracy" and "equality," they are using double talk. They use good words in their own topsy-turvy way, to cover up bad intentions. But for simple folk who don't know the art of turning words inside out, it takes time to catch on.

Anyhow, after John Henry I was pretty well launched. I made two albums: the Chain Gang album by Josh White and His Carolinians and another by myself I called Southern Exposure. Gradually I began to rise in my profession.

At that point, I suppose, my name began to have some value for publicity purposes, to attract a crowd and raise money. All kinds of invitations came to me, and when they sounded right, I was happy to accept. Many times, between my professional shows, I'd go to perform where my only reward was the belief that I was helping some good cause. When I received invitations from men I trusted, or groups with fine-sounding titles and lists of prominent citizens on their letterheads, asking for my time or signature, I gladly agreed. Inside me I felt I was doing a little to extend the area of freedom in my native South and in the world generally.

Looking back, I just wish someone had told me! Many of the organizations were genuine. Some others, as I learned the hard way, were phony, false-face political rackets, exploiting my eagerness to fight injustice. I didn't become aware of this, however, until about 1947.

I was in California at the time. In the newspapers I came across a list of committees and organizations which the Attorney General had just labeled "subversive." And I was horrified to learn that a number of them were organizations for whom I had performed in the course of years, without knowing their character.

It was an awful blow. I realized that I had been played for a sucker. There I was, a devoted American who had let himself be used.

I discussed the situation with my manager, Mary Chase, who took over my affairs in 1947. She was as distressed as myself. We decided to check on those invitations for benefits and rallies. More than that, we made contact with a New York newspaperman, Howard Rushmore, who knows a lot about the Communist rackets and could give us some guidance. Despite this, as I have discovered recently, I was again taken in or had my name used, without my permission, several times by the disguises. A few of them even advertised me without my knowing.

Permit me to quote from a letter I wrote to Mr. Rushmore almost 2 years ago, when it came to my attention that I was being charged with Communist sympathies. After denying the absurd charge, I wrote:

The love I have for America, the land of my birth, which has given me every opportunity, is far too great to permit of any other allegiance * * * I have no interest in any particular party. I am solely devoted to the principle of a democracy like ours, that stands for the welfare of all its people regardless of race, creed or color.

My one consolation, as I think back to the many nights I gave to concealed subversive groups, is that I never sang anything I didn't believe. Often I sang the powerful song *Strange Fruit*, which is an indictment of the horror of lynching. But I always followed it with what I call the answer to *Strange Fruit*, *The House I Live In* or *What Is America to Me*, which expressed the other side of the story—my profound love for our America.

Why shouldn't a Negro artist—and for that matter any decent person—raise his voice against lynching? Here's how the song *Strange Fruit* goes:

Southern trees bear a strange fruit; blood on the leaves—and blood at the root.

Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze—strange fruit hanging on the poplar trees.

Pastoral scene of the gallant South of the bulging eyes and the twisted mouth.

Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh—and the sudden smell of burning flesh. Here is a fruit for the crows to pluck for the rain to gather and for the wind to suck;

For the sun to rot for the trees to drop.

Oh, here is a strange and bitter crop.

My records of this song have sold big. If they helped make my fellow Americans more aware of the evil, I am pleased. But then I would insist on also performing *The House I Live In*, which seems to me to express the things for which all good Americans are ready to stake their lives if necessary. Here's how it goes:

What is America to me?

A name, a map, a flag I see

A certain word, democracy.

What is America, to me?

The house I live in—a dream—that must come true

A land of food and shelter—and there's work for all to do

The right to earn a living

To make us really free

Where everyone is working

That's America to me.

The house I live in—the same for black and white

My Country right or wrong—if it's wrong to set it right

A land where all are equal

The house I want to see

Where all will have four freedoms

That's America to me.

The loved ones we remember—who fought that we might live

The nameless unsung heroes—who gave all that one could give

Defenders of our freedoms—the women and the men

Who love the house we live in

But won't come home again.

The house I live in to cherish and to love

To make a worthy dwelling—in the image they dream of

A welcome on the doorstep—for everyone to see

And a window to the future

That's America to me.

I believe that no one who sings such songs honestly, from the heart, can be a Communist. They're songs that put a high value on human life and on personal freedom. But the Communists don't consider those things important.

Some months ago I made a concert tour in Europe. I was both amazed and annoyed that somehow only one of my dozens of recordings was being circulated in those countries, namely, *Strange Fruit*. So wherever I appeared, the audiences requested me to sing it.

But I refused, and I told my audiences why. I tried to make them understand that America is the best and freest country in the world. It is the kind of democracy that makes it possible to fight injustice and to achieve progress.

It's one thing to complain of lynching in America, where your listeners know that it does not detract from your loyalty and love for your country. It seemed to me quite another thing to complain of it abroad, where the listeners might think it's the whole story. Jim Crow and the rest of it, we all know, are on the decline. More and more Americans are ashamed of it and doing something about it. In any case, it's our family affair, to be solved by Americans in the peaceful, democratic American way.

In some of those European cities I was interviewed by reporters. There are the clippings to show that I spoke of my pride in our country, and denied the libel that my people would not fight and die to defend America.

In the midst of all this, I got the news that I was being attacked back home as fronting for the Communists. Considering that I was doing the very opposite, that was quite a blow. So I cut short my tour, in order to return and expose that lie. That, Mr. Chairman, is how I happen to be here today.

My entertainment for these subversive groups was innocent on my part, and is far in the past. I am concerned, however, for my wife and children. The very notion that their father and husband is partial to communism has come to them as quite a shock. I want to reassure them on this score, in the open and without question.

About 2 years ago my boy, who was then 7 and is very gifted musically, gave a concert in Chicago at Orchestra Hall. Among other things he sang *Marching Down Freedom Road*, and that's a fine, rousing plea for true democracy. He also sang *The Lord's Prayer*, one of his favorites, which he sings often in his Sunday School. But some paper, believe it or not, said the child was communistic. It took us some time to get over that insult.

Besides the family, I decided that I also have a duty to other folk singers and artists in general, especially young people just getting started. They face the same things I did. I want my sad experience to stand as a warning to them. I hope they will give themselves to good causes as generously as I have tried to do. But I hope also they will be more careful who uses them and why. My advice to them is plain and clear: Be sure to look under the label.

Personally I have little to retract or regret, other than the auspices under which I have sometimes appeared. As long as my voice and spirit hold out, I shall keep on singing of the hope, joys, and grievances of ordinary folk. I shall stand shoulder to shoulder with those who are pushed around and humiliated and discriminated against,

no matter what their race or their creed may be. That, as I see it, is the least I can do for the country we all cherish.

But those who would tear down our America, those who hold a double allegiance, those who turn words upside down and inside out in support of a foreign tyranny—they're my enemies. Better than most people in this room I know the blemishes on our American civilization. I think we should all devote ourselves to removing them, not merely because they give aid and comfort to the Communists, but because they're wrong in themselves.

I thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe I have no questions to ask.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. You have stated that had you known that some of these movements that you were assisting were Communist fronts, you would not have participated in their activities?

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. I think by that statement you have made out a very strong case for the enactment of the Wood bill that the House just passed this week, because under the provisions of that law Communist-front organizations will become known.

Mr. WHITE. I am glad.

Mr. WALTER. And the names of these organizations and who supports them will become public property.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde.

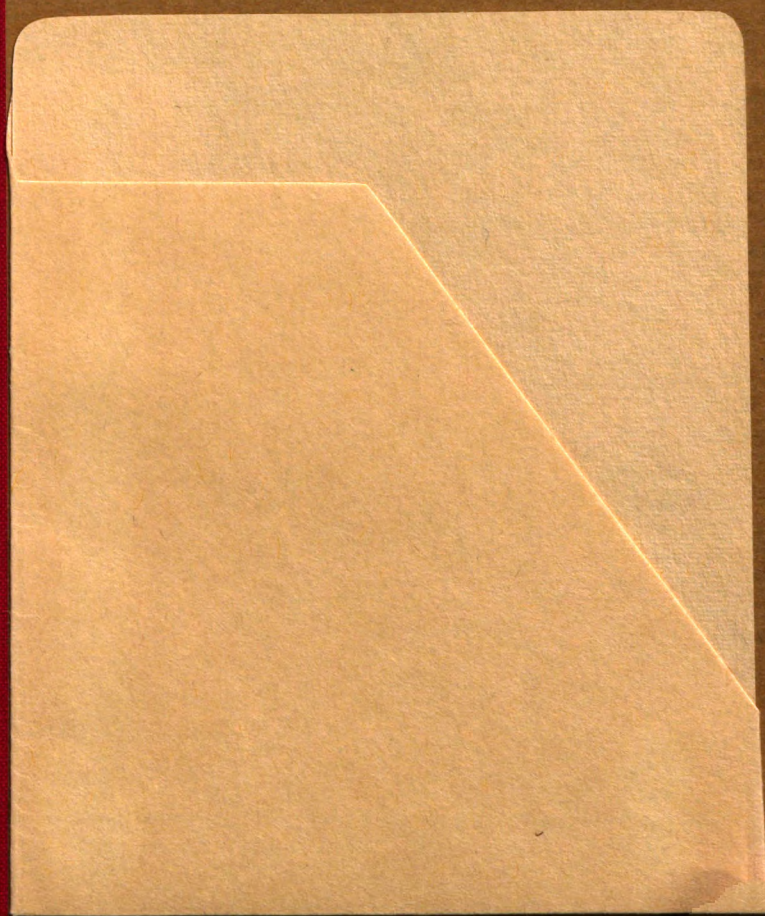
Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. The committee appreciates your coming before us and making this contribution. I hope that others who have been similarly imposed upon by Communist-front organizations will wake up to that fact. We appreciate your presence here.

Mr. WHITE. Thank you so much.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

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